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MUTUAL HELPFULNESS BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY, WU TING-FANG, CHINESE MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

TRADE, which lies at the foundation of international intercourse, has an eminently selfish origin. It is a constant manœuver on the part of men to sell dear and buy cheap. Since each party in a commercial transaction seeks only his own advantage, it was for a long time thought that one of them could gain only at the expense of the other. Thus the "mercantile system," which for centuries held Europe spellbound, made gold-getting the end and aim of all commercial activities. The promotion of friendly relations with the object of securing an exchange of benefits was not considered of even secondary importance. Then came the navigation laws which had for their avowed purpose the crippling of all rival shipping by laying a heavy tax upon the carrying trade of foreigners. Though such measures are no longer considered advisable in the commercial world, their baleful effects are still felt in the political thought of the present time.

Nations now enter into friendly relations with each other because it is believed that both sides are benefited by such rela-

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tions. Their transactions cannot be one-sided affairs, for the simple reason that it takes two to make a bargain. If one party is dissatisfied with the arrangement, the other party will not long have an opportunity to enjoy its benefits.

Confucius was once asked for a single word which might serve as a guiding principle through life. "Is not reciprocity such a word?" answered the great sage. "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." This is the "Golden Rule" which should govern the relations of man to man. It is the foundation of society. It lies at the bottom of every system of morality, and every system of law. If it holds good with respect to individuals, it ought to hold good with respect to nations, which are but large aggregations of individuals. Therefore, if permanent relations are to be established between two nations, reciprocity must be the key-note of every arrangement entered into between them.

Having recognized this great principle of international intercourse, how shall we apply it to the case of China and the United States in such a manner as to result in mutual helpfulness? Assuredly, the first thing to do is to take a general survey of the situation and see what are the present needs of each country. Then we shall perceive clearly how each may help the other to a higher plane of material development and prosperity.

The United States now has its industrial machinery perfectly adjusted to the production of wealth on a scale of unprecedented magnitude. Of land, the first of the three agents of production enumerated by economists, the United States is fortunately blessed with an almost unlimited amount. Its territory stretches from ocean to ocean, and from the snows of the Arctic Circle to the broiling sun of the tropics. Within these limits are found all the products of soil, forest and mine that are useful to man. With respect to labor, the second agent of production, the United States at first naturally suffered the disadvantage common to all new countries. But here the genius of the people came into play to relieve the situation. That necessity, which is "the mother of invention," substituted the sewing machine for women's fingers, the McCormick reaper for farm hands, the cotton gin for slaves. The efficiency of labor was thereby multiplied, in many cases, a hundred fold. The ingenious manner in which capital, the third agent of production, is put to a profitable use, is equally characteristic of America. It is well known that there is an enormous

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amount of capital in this country seeking investment. Every one who has a little to invest wishes to obtain as large a return as possible. Since competition reduces profits, the formation of industrial combinations, commonly called trusts, is for the capitalist the logical solution of the difficulty. These enable the vast amount of capital in this country to secure the best results with the greatest economy. Whether they secure "the greatest good to the greatest number" is another matter.

The development of the resources of the United States by the use of machinery and by the combination of capital has now reached a point which may be termed critical. The productive power of the country increases so much faster than its capacity for consumption that the demand of a population of 75,000,000 is no sooner felt than supplied. There is constant danger of overproduction, with all its attendant consequences. Under these circumstances, it is imperative for the farmers and manufacturers of the United States to seek an outlet for their products and goods in foreign markets. But whither shall they turn?

At first sight, Europe presents perhaps the most inviting field. Both blood and association point in this direction. But here the cottons of Lowell would have to compete with the fabrics of Manchester. The silk manufactures of Paterson would stand small chance of supplanting the finished products of Lyons. The sugar of Louisiana would encounter a formidable rival in the beet-sugar of Germany. England could probably better afford to sell her coal and iron cheaper than Pennsylvania, and Russia could supply European markets with wheat and petroleum as well as could Ohio and Indiana. Competition would be keen and destructive.

Central and South America have as yet too sparse a population for the immense territory they cover to meet the conditions of a market for American goods. Some decades must elapse before American farmers and manufacturers can look to that quarter for relief.

But on the other side of the Pacific lies the vast Empire of China, which in extent of territory and density of population exceeds the whole of Europe. To be more particular, the Province of Szechuen can muster more able-bodied men than the German Empire. The Province of Shantung can boast of as many native-born sons as France. Scatter all the inhabitants of Costa Rica or Nicaragua in Canton, and they would be completely lost in that

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city's surging throngs. Transport all the people of Chile into China and they would fill only a city of the first class. Further comparisons are needless. Suffice it to say that China has her teeming millions to feed and to clothe. Many of the supplies come from outside. The share furnished by the United States was considerably larger last year than ever before, and might be greatly increased. According to the statistics published by the United States Government, China in 1899 took American goods to the value of $14,437,422, of which amount $9,844,565 was paid for cotton goods. All the European countries combined bought only $1,484,363 worth of American cotton manufactures during that same period. The amount of similar purchases made by the Central American States was $737,259, by all the South American countries $2,713,967. It thus appears that China is the largest buyer of American cotton goods. British America comes next in the list with purchases amounting to $2,759,164. Cotton cloth has a wide range of uses in all parts of the Chinese Empire, and it is almost impossible for the supply to equal the demand.

Up to the year 1898, cotton goods and kerosene were the only articles imported from the United States in large enough quantities to have a value of over $1,000,000. But I notice in the statistics published by the United States Government for the year 1899, that manufactures of iron and steel have also passed that mark. This is due to the fact that China has now begun in real earnest the work of building railroads. The demand for construction materials is great. The value of locomotives imported last year from the United States was $732,212.

Besides the articles mentioned, there are many others of American origin, which do not figure in the customs returns as such. These find their way into China through adjacent countries, especially Hongkong. At least three-fourths of the imports of Hongkong, notably wheat, flour and canned goods, are destined for consumption in the Chinese mainland.

Such is the present condition of trade between the United States and China. That trade can be greatly extended. Let the products of American farms, mills, and workshops once catch the Chinese fancy, and America need look no farther for a market. The present popularity of American kerosene illustrates the readiness of the Chinese to accept any article that fills a long-felt want.

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They have recognized in kerosene a cheap and good illuminant, much superior to their own nut-oil, and it has consequently found its way into distant and outlying parts of the Empire where the very name of America is unknown. Stores in the interior now send their agents to the treaty ports for it. In the same way, foreign made candles, because cheaper than those of home make, are selling easily in China. I would suggest that American farmers and manufacturers might find it to their advantage to study the wants and habits of the Chinese and the conditions of trade in China.

Thus we see that China can give the United States a much-needed market. What, on the other hand, can the United States do for China? Let us consider China's stock of the three requisites for the production of wealth—land, labor and capital.

The Chinese Empire embraces a continuous territory which stretches over sixty degrees of longitude and thirty-four degrees of latitude. Nature has endowed this immense region with every variety of soil and climate, but has, however, scattered her bounties over it with an uneven hand. That portion which comprises the eighteen provinces of China Proper, extending from the Great Wall to the China Sea, and from the Tibetan plateau to the Pacific Ocean, is more highly favored than the rest. Whenever China is mentioned, it is generally this particular portion of the empire that is meant. On this land hundreds of generations of men have lived and died without exhausting its richness and fertility. There remains for generations to come untold wealth of nature lying hidden within the bowels of the earth. The mines of Yunnan, though they have for centuries supplied the government mints with copper for the coining of those pieces of money commonly known as cash, only await the introduction of modern methods of extraction to yield an annual output as large as that of the famous Calumet and Hecla mines. The sands of the Yangtsze, washed down from the highlands of Tibet, contain so much gold that that part of its course as it enters the Province of Szechuen is called the River of Golden Sand. Much more important than these, however, are the deposits of coal which underlie the surface formation of every province. All varieties of coal are found, from the softest lignite to the hardest anthracite, and in such quantities that, according to the careful estimate of Baron Richtofen, the famous German traveler and geologist, the Province of Shansi

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alone can supply the whole world at the present rate of consumption, for 3,000 years. In most cases, beds of iron ore lie in close proximity to those of coal and can hence be easily worked and smelted. In short, the natural resources of China, both in variety and quantity, are so great that she stands second to no other nation in potential wealth. To reduce this potentiality to actuality is for her the most important question of the hour. For this purpose, she has an almost unlimited supply of labor at her command.

Every village can count its thousands of laborers, every city its tens of thousands. Experience proves that the Chinese as all-round laborers can easily distance all competitors. They are industrious, intelligent, and orderly. They can work under conditions that would kill a man of a less hardy race; in heat that would suit a salamander or in cold that would please a polar bear, sustaining their energies through long hours of unremitting toil with only a few bowls of rice.

But have the Chinese sufficient capital to carry on their industrial operations? They are a nation of shopkeepers. What capital they have is usually invested in small business ventures. It is their instinct to avoid large enterprises. Thus, the capital in the country, though undoubtedly large, may be likened to a pile of sand on the beach. It has great extent, but is so utterly lacking in cohesion that out of it no lofty structure can be built. Before China can be really on the high road to prosperity, it must find means of fully utilizing every economic advantage that it has. Modern methods are its greatest need. Here is America's opportunity.

The Yankee is never seen to better advantage than when experimenting with a new idea on a colossal scale. To direct vast or novel enterprises is a perfectly new experience to the Chinaman. Give him a junk and he will with ease ride out the fiercest typhoon that ever lashed the seas. But give him an ocean leviathan of the present day, with its complicated engines, dynamos, compasses and other modern appliances for navigating a ship, and he will be truly "all at sea" in knowing how to handle it, even in a dead calm.

Of all public works, China has most pressing need of railroads. Only ten years ago it would have been difficult to convince one man in ten of the immediate necessity for the introduction of

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railroads into all the provinces of the empire. To-day, at least nine out of every ten believe that railroads ought to be built as fast as possible. This complete change of public opinion within so short a time shows perhaps better than anything else how fast China is getting into the swing of the world's forward movement. There are at present only about 400 miles of railroad open to traffic throughout the whole country, and all the lines building and projected foot up to 5,000 or 6,000 miles more. China Proper covers about as many square miles as the States east of the Mississippi. Those States, with a population of 50,000,000, require 100,000 miles of railroad to do their business. China, with a population eight times as large, would naturally be supposed to need at least about an equal mileage of roads for her purposes. It would not be strange if the activity in railroad construction in the United States soon after the Civil War should find a parallel in China in coming years.

The building of railroads in China does not partake of the speculative character which attended the building of some of the American roads. There are no wild regions to be opened up for settlement, no new towns to be built along the route. Here is a case of the railroad following the population, and not that of the population following the railroad. A road built through populous cities and famous marts has not long to wait for traffic. It would pay from the very beginning.

The first railroad in China was built for the transportation of coal from the Kaiping mines to the port of Taku. I was chiefly instrumental in securing its construction. The line, though in an out-of-the-way corner of the empire, proved so profitable from the very start that it was soon extended to Tientsin and Peking in one direction, and to Shanhaikwan, the eastern terminus of the Great Wall, in the other. Not long ago it was thought advisable to build a branch beyond Shanhaikwan to the treaty port of Newchwang. This branch has been completed and will soon be opened to traffic. Minister Conger, in a recent letter to the State Department, says that the road now pays a dividend of 14 per cent. on the whole capital invested, and that when the entire line is open a dividend of 30 per cent. is expected. The era of railroad building in China may be said to have just dawned. China desires nothing better than to have Americans lend a hand in this great work.

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It gave me great pleasure two years ago to obtain for an American company a concession to build a railroad between Hankow, the great distributing center of Central China, and Canton, the great distributing center of South China. The line is to connect with the Lu-Han line on the north and with the Kowloon line on the south, and throughout its whole length of more than 900 miles will run through opulent cities, fertile valleys and cultivated plains. The construction of such a line by Americans through the heart of China cannot fail to bring the people of the two countries into closer relations.

Besides railroads, there are other public works which China must undertake sooner or later. Among them are river and harbor improvements, city water supplies, street lighting and street railways. Owing to the traditional friendship between the two countries, our people are well disposed toward Americans. They are willing to follow their lead in these new enterprises, where they might spurn the assistance of other people with whom they have been on less friendly terms in the past.

Such being the economic interdependence of China and the United States, what policy should each country pursue toward the other in order to gain the greatest good from that relationship? In my judgment, true reciprocity is impossible unless each country has perfect confidence in the other and displays on all occasions a desire for fair play and honest dealing.

Now, reciprocity demands the "open door." China long ago adopted that policy in her foreign intercourse. She has treaty relations with all the European Powers, together with the United States, Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Japan and Korea. All these are equally "favored nations" in every sense of the term. The Swede and the Dane enjoy the same rights, privileges, immunities and exemptions with respect to commerce, navigation, travel, and residence throughout the length and breadth of the Empire as are accorded to the Russian or the Englishman. Any favor that may be granted to Japan, for instance, at once inures to the benefit of the United States. Indeed, China in her treatment of strangers within her gates has in a great many respects gone even beyond what is required by international usage. According to the usual practice of nations, no country is expected to accord to foreigners rights which are not enjoyed by its own subjects or citizens. But China has been so long accustomed to indemnify foreigners who

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have fallen victims to mob violence that she is looked upon in a sense as an insurer of the lives and property of all foreigners residing within her borders. To such an extent is this idea current among foreigners in China that some years ago an American missionary in the Province of Shantung, who happened to have some articles stolen from his house in the night, estimated his loss at $60, and actually sent the bill through the American Minister at Peking to the Foreign Office for payment. The Chinese tariff also favors foreigners resident in China much more than it does the Chinese themselves. Most articles imported for the use of foreigners are on the free list. Such is the treatment which Americans in common with the subjects and citizens of other foreign powers receive in China.

Justice would seem to demand equal consideration for the Chinese on the part of the United States. China does not ask for special favors. All she wants is enjoyment of the same privileges accorded other nationalities. Instead, she is singled out for discrimination and made the subject of hostile legislation. Her door is wide open to the people of the United States, but their door is slammed in the face of her people. I am not so biased as to advocate any policy that might be detrimental to the best interests of the people of the United States. If they think it desirable to keep out the objectionable class of Chinese, by all means let them do so. Let them make their immigration laws as strict as possible, but let them be applicable to all foreigners. Would it not be fairer to exclude the illiterate and degenerate classes of all nations rather than to make an arbitrary ruling against the Chinese alone? Would it not be wiser to set up some specific test of fitness, such as ability to read intelligently the American Constitution? That would give the Chinese a chance along with the rest of the world, and yet effectually restrict their immigration. Such a law would be practically prohibitory as far as all except the best educated Chinese are concerned, for the reason that the written language of the Chinese is so entirely different from the spoken tongue that few of the immigrants would be able to read with intelligence such a work as the American Constitution. Nevertheless, a law of that kind would be just in spirit and could not rouse resentment in the Chinese breast.

Since the law and the treaty forbid the coming of Chinese laborers, I must do all I can to restrict their immigration. I

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should, however, like to call attention to the fact that the Chinese Exclusion Act, as enforced, scarcely accomplishes the purpose for which it was passed. It aimed to provide for the exclusion of Chinese laborers only, while freely admitting all others. As a matter of fact, the respectable merchant, who would be an irreproachable addition to the population of any country, has been frequently turned back, whereas the Chinese high-binders, the riff-raff and scum of the nation, fugitives from justice and adventurers of all types have too often effected an entrance without much difficulty. This is because the American officials at the entrance ports are ignorant of Chinese character and dialects and cannot always discriminate between the worthy and unworthy. Rascals succeed in deceiving them, while the respectable but guileless Chinese are often unjustly suspected, inconveniently detained, or even sent back to China. A number of such cases have been brought to my attention. It must not be supposed, however, that I blame any official. In view of their limited knowledge of Chinese affairs, it is not strange that the officials sometimes make mistakes. The Americans judge us wrongly, just as we often misjudge them. This unpleasant state of things is to be deplored, and I would suggest that difficulties might be avoided, if the regular officials, in passing on immigrant Chinamen, could have the assistance of Chinese consuls, or people fitted by training and experience in China for the discharge of such duties.

Great misunderstanding exists in the United States in regard to Chinese questions. There is a current fear that if all restrictions on Chinese immigration were removed, the United States would be flooded with my countrymen. Inasmuch as China contains some 400,000,000 inhabitants, a wholesale emigration would certainly be a serious matter for the people of the country to which they removed. But there is no danger of such a calamity befalling the United States. Those who view it with alarm only show how profoundly ignorant they are of Chinese character. One of the most striking features of the conservatism of the Chinese is their absolute horror of travel, especially by sea. They regard any necessity for it as an unmitigated evil. They do not often visit neighboring towns, much less adjoining provinces or foreign countries. So pronounced is their prejudice against travel that, until they could be educated into a different view, Chinese railroads would for the first few years have to depend for

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their profits on freight rates rather than passenger fares. To the American or Englishman, who proceeds to go abroad as soon as he has accumulated a little money, their state of mind may seem incomprehensible, but it is nevertheless a fact that must be taken into account.

How, then, is the presence of so many Chinese in America explained? By the fact that some forty years ago, when the Pacific Railway was building, there was great scarcity of laborers. Agents went to China and induced a considerable number of Chinese to come to this country and assist in the construction of the railroad. After their work was done most of them returned home, taking their earnings with them. They told their relatives of the exceptional opportunities for making money in this country and they in turn decided to seek their fortunes here. Were it not for this circumstance, there would be no more Chinese in this country than there are in Europe, where wages are also much higher than in China. As it is, all who are in the United States are from the Province of Canton, and they come from two or three places only of that one province.

It has been said that the rules of international intercourse as observed by Western nations among themselves are not applicable to intercourse with Eastern nations. True it is that the people of the East speak different languages and have different customs, manners, religions, and ways of thinking from the people of the West. But the rule of contraries is by no means a safe guide through the intricacies of social observances. By disregarding the common civilities of life, which are considered very important in China, and by assuming a lofty air of superiority, foreigners frequently make themselves unpopular in China. Americans have the reputation there of being abrupt, English dictatorial. In recent years, competition in trade with people of other nationalities has reduced their profits and forced them, for the sake of obtaining custom, to be more suave in their manners. Foreigners are sometimes guilty, also, of practising all sorts of tricks upon the unsuspecting natives. It should be remembered that the Chinese standard of business honesty is very high. The "yea, yea" of a Chinese merchant is as good as gold. Not a scrap of paper is necessary to bind him to his word. Friendly feeling between the people of China and those of the United States would be greatly promoted if the Americans would always remember,

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in whatever dealings they may have with the Chinese, that "Honesty is the best policy."

I believe that the Western nations want to treat the people of the Orient fairly. It is gratifying to see that Japan has been able to revise her ex-territorial treaties, and it speaks well for the fairmindedness of England and other countries that they have thrown no obstacles in her way. I hope that the day will soon come when China may follow in her footsteps.

In the meantime, China observes with interest that the planting of the Stars and Stripes in the Philippine Islands will make the United States her neighbor in the future, as she has been her friend in the past. It is her earnest hope that the United States will make no attempt to bar Asiatics from her new shores, but that she will seize this opportunity to strengthen friendly relations of mutual helpfulness between the two countries. No other nation has a stronger claim to the confidence of China than has the United States. The very first article of the first treaty concluded between the two nations provides that there shall be peace and friendship between them and between their people. Through a half century of intercourse, no untoward circumstance has interrupted those amicable relations. More than once the United States Government has used its good offices to promote Chinese interests and welfare. Nations, like individuals, appreciate favors, and, like them also, resent indignities. The sentiment of good will entertained by the Government and people of China toward the Government and people of the United States is strong and profound because of the long, unblemished past, but underneath it all there is, I am sorry to say, a natural feeling of disappointment and irritation that the people of the United States deal now less liberally with the Chinese than with the rest of the world. If the best guarantee of friendship is self-interest, surely the friendship of a nation of 400,000,000 people ought to be worth cultivating. China does not ask for much. She has no thought of territorial aggrandizement, of self-glorification in any form. All she wants is gentle peace, sweet friendship, helpful exchange of benefits, and the generous application of that Golden Rule which people of all nations and all creeds should delight to follow.

WU TING-FANG.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM IN CHINA.

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

SIGNS are not wanting that we are on the eve of another political convulsion in China, a violent reaction from the masterly and masterful intervention of the Dowager-Empress. The forces which have been swaying China this way and that for the last generation are still actively at work; while time is surely if slowly wearing away the barrier which has kept the flowing tide in check.

Many writers, in a glow of controversial zeal, were led to represent the palace revolution as the visible evidence of an occult struggle between Russia and England for the sovereignty of the Far East; and, considering the forced retirement of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu a victory for the Russian party, they confidently predicted a speedy countercheck from Great Britain, and exulted over it in advance as a victory for progress, enterprise and a higher phase of civilization.

In reality, the revolution in Pekin had nothing whatever to do with either Russia or England. It happened that one of the chiefs on the side of the Dowager-Empress, the venerable Li Hung Chang, was a firm friend of Russia, and this gave color to the partisan view; but it might just as well have been the other way. The watershed of the Chinese movement, so to speak, is a question of internal policy alone.

There are, in fact, two parties in China, one extremely radical and the other extremely conservative. The former is the party of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu; the latter is the party of the Dowager-Empress Tshu-Chsi. The Conservatives, under the lead of this remarkable woman, aspire to keep China as far as possible a forbidden land, a second Tibet, governed on traditional and theocratic lines. The Radicals, on the other hand, desire to see

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China follow the lead of Japan, and put on the whole armor of civilization, as we understand it in Europe and America.

But the Conservatives are in sympathy with Russia only to a very limited extent; it is, with them, a sympathy of tradition rather than of policy, for the relations between Russia and China go back to the Middle Ages. They regard Russia as a friendly Asiatic despotism, and hardly as a European country at all.

The Radicals, on the other hand, have no particular sympathy with England. It is, indeed, one of the elements of their policy to foster closer relations with Japan, in order that China and Japan together may be able to stand independently as a great Asiatic power, throwing off the yoke of European, and especially of English, interference.

In truth, the questions which divide these two parties in China are much more serious and profound than one would be led to believe from reading the accounts of the critics and chroniclers of our press. They have a way of leaping to conclusions, which shows a great deal of courage, it is true, but, on the other hand, a great ignorance of the Oriental world, and of the thoughts and feelings of Oriental peoples.

It is taken as axiomatic, for example, that a theocratic government is something wholly out of place in the modern world; an exploded superstition of a by-gone age; something quite out of keeping with modern ideas and modern life. But Germany, and indeed every monarchical country, is in principle a theocracy; for the kingship is founded on divine right; and the fact that the coronation is a religious ceremony shows that the divine sanction is still conceived as authorizing the Emperor to rule. Russia, where the Emperor himself sets the crown upon his head, is even more directly theocratic; the ruler draws his right direct from heaven, without the interposition of the Church. But every monarchy is in principle a theocracy, just as every aristocracy admits the principle of ancestor-worship.

So that there is nothing essentially incompatible with Western ideas in even the extreme ideals of the Chinese Conservatives. And, as far as they believe in adhering to the traditional and native forms of Chinese life, and, incidentally, of Chinese arts and handicrafts, there is much to be said for them, too; for these are the forms of life which they have developed for themselves during generations, and even now their arts and crafts are in

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many things so superior to ours that we buy as ornaments things which they destined simply for common use. In Europe the very latest ideal in arts and crafts is the introduction of the personal and creative element in all workmanship as against machinery. But this was the ideal of China and Japan from the outset. Every Japanese and Chinese artisan is an artist, and in this they are a century ahead of their Western critics.

So that one may easily make out a very strong general case for the Conservatives in China. And, when this has been done, it becomes doubly interesting to apply the same process in detail, and to inquire what precisely were the innovations which the Emperor Kuang-Hsu sought to introduce, and why this attempt was so completely frustrated.

First, a word about the Emperor himself. Kuang-Hsu is an imperial title, meaning "Enduring Majesty;" the prince's personal name is Teai-Tsien. He is only twenty-seven years old, though he has borne the title of Emperor ever since the death of his cousin, the Emperor Chai-Chin, five and twenty years ago, and has been sole responsible ruler, in theory at least, for the last nine years. The Emperor Kuang-Hsu is slight and delicate, almost childish in appearance, of pale olive complexion, and with great, melancholy eyes. There is a gentleness in his expression that speaks rather of dreaming than of the power to turn dreams into acts. It is strange to find a personality so ethereal among the descendants of the Mongol hordes; yet the Emperor Kuang-Hsu might sit as a model for some Oriental saint on the threshold of the highest beatitude. Though it is eleven years since his marriage with Princess Eho-na-la, the Emperor is childless.

It is not so long since the nobles of our most civilized Western lands counted it a vice to write well, and slept on rushes in their torch-lit, wooden halls. Their ideals were war and hunting, with bows and arrows, for the most part, with legalized plundering of the agricultural population to renew their supplies of bread. In those days China was far more civilized than any European country; and, in the life of the Chinese Empire, that period is only as yesterday. The two things which have done most to change the relative positions of East and West are gunpowder and printing, yet both of these have been known in China for ages. So that any inherent superiority on the part of the West is rather a pleasing fiction; much might be said in the contrary sense. The

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West is superior in combative and destructive elements—the very things which the religion of the West has been trying to eradicate for two thousand years; so that, even from a Western point of view, Europe's material victory is a moral defeat.

Yet it is none the less true that China has been overshadowed and left behind by the Western nations, and the recognition of this fact is the starting point of the Emperor's policy.

He conceives the remedy to be an infusion of new life into the education of the people; a supersession of the wonderful system of intellectual training, perfected centuries ago, which forms all minds alike on the great Chinese Classics, "the best that has been thought and said" in the Celestial Land. It is the battle of utility against culture fought out once more on Chinese lines. Chemistry and physics, engineering and military science are to take the place of essays and poems exquisitely fashioned after ancient models, now the sole test of talent throughout the Empire, and perfection in which is the royal road to fame and fortune.

It is hard to tell which we should most admire, the genuine enthusiasm of all China for literary culture, for familiarity with the highest thoughts and noblest words of the sages, or the marvellous ingenuity and precision with which this knowledge is tested by a system of examinations hardly equalled, and never surpassed, by any nation in the world—the vast halls, with their cloister-like divisions for ten thousand candidates; the seals set on the doors before the papers are given out; the counted sheets of stamped paper with name and number for the essays and poems of each candidate; the army of clerks copying the themes in red ink, lest any personal sign or mark should lead the examiner to recognize a favored pupil; the enthusiastic crowds gathering at the doors; the cannons and music which greet the candidates first to come forth; the literary chancellor ceremoniously presiding; the lists of the successful eagerly bought up in the streets; the chosen essays and poems sent to Court for the delectation of the Emperor; the gold-buttoned caps and blue silk gowns of the graduates; and, lastly, the almost pathetic provision that whoever continues without success to try for any degree until his eightieth year shall receive it free, from the Emperor himself, as a reward for faithful love of learning.

By the way, we should keep some of our admiration for the

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more than human ingenuity with which the Chinese students sometimes evade even the strictest precautions: the tunnels dug beneath the examination halls, through which surreptitious knowledge is passed up to the candidates, written minutely on the finest paper; the offices where needy and brilliant essayists are hired to personate dull, wealthy scholars; the refinement of knavery that decrees that, while the rank of the examination to be compounded for rises in arithmetical progression, the bribe increases in geometrical ratio. All this but shows, by crooked ways, how highly learning is esteemed.

Yet all this, while it reminds us how foolish we are to think of Chinamen as uncivilized, is not enough to win the battles of the world. Therefore, the Emperor Kuang-Hsu deemed it necessary to decree reform and the introduction of the utilitarian spirit. Pekin is to have a University, as a rallying point for the modern spirit; and here a characteristic note of Chinese radicalism is struck; for the methods and standards of this first Chinese University are to be taken not directly from Europe, but mediately through Japan. It is conceived that Western ideals will then have undergone a process of partial assimilation and amelioration, making them more immediately suitable for the Chinese mind. In other words, it is held that the Japanese have already improved the culture they received from Europe, and that the Chinese, following in their steps, will improve it still further.

This drawing together of China and Japan is one of the key-notes of the radical programme of the Emperor Kuang-Hsu. "China and Japan," says a recent edict, "have a common language, they belong to the same race, they have all interests in common."

So a band of students are to set out from the Celestial Empire to the Flowery Land, as guests of the Japanese nation, there to absorb the light which they are presently to radiate, as teachers, in their own land. Two hundred are to go, as a beginning, and they are already being chosen among those who have some knowledge of Japanese. And before they return, if Kuang-Hsu's programme is carried out, Pekin will have, besides her University, a whole system of primary and intermediate schools, and this system, modelled on the best Western plans, will gradually be extended to every considerable city of the Empire.

The University of Tokio, which is held to be the high-water

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mark of blended European and Japanese culture, is to serve as the model for the Pekin institution, and temporary quarters have been assigned to the teachers in the princely palaces of the capital, pending the erection of suitable University buildings. Meanwhile, the sum originally allotted to the Committee on Education has been increased threefold, by a special Imperial edict, and the sum set aside for the maintenance of the committee has been doubled.

The thoroughly practical spirit pervading this new educational movement in China is shown in an Imperial order recently dispatched to the coast provinces: the Viceroys, Governors, Prefects and District Magistrates—the four chief degrees in the executive hierarchy—are directed to furnish the Emperor with precise information as to possible means of increasing the naval schools and supplying new training-ships for the fleet. A further very practical move is the formation of a Committee on Railroads and Engineering, with orders to draft plans for the opening of schools of railroad engineering at a number of central points through the Empire, from which, it is hoped, railroads will soon radiate to every considerable town, and through all the provinces.

Close on the heels of this follows another Committee on Agriculture, Manufactures and Trade. To the President and Vice-President of this committee are specifically reserved the right of free access to the Emperor at all times, on the business of their departments; and when we remember the divinity that hedges in the Son of Heaven we shall better understand how much he is in earnest, and how clearly he shows it by sacrificing his ceremonial prerogatives. A School of Agriculture is to be formed, with branches in each district of every province of the Empire, and these branch schools are to procure the latest agricultural machinery, and to exhibit its advantages to the mass of cultivators in the rural districts. It is hoped that a decade will not pass before the whole agriculture of China is transformed by the use of tilling and harvesting machines.

Another innovation, which seems to have been borrowed from India, was suggested by last year's famine in the three provinces of Hu-pé, Shan-Si and Shan-tung, all not very far from the capital. The Emperor had discovered that the system of distributing free rations among the starving populations was not a success—or, perhaps we should say, the system of allotting considerable sums to that end. For there is the old tale of peculation and dis-

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honest officials, a Chinese version of the charges more than once brought against the American Government in its relations with the Red Indians. The Emperor proposes to adopt the British Indian expedient of relief-works, and further intends to improve the occasion by employing the men at these works in the various new industries which he is seeking to introduce throughout the provinces. This would include the building of railroads, the establishment of agricultural machinery, the extension of irrigation and the introduction of new manufactures. So that a famine will come as a blessing in disguise.

Another very important reform touches the procedure in civil cases. It is said that the Chinese courts have a bad eminence in civil law's delays, keeping a good fat process on the files for months and years, and even decades, to the end that many bribes may be taken; and after a judge has taken many bribes from both sides it becomes very embarrassing to decide the case at all. The traditional solution in India is to put the final decision up to auction. Before we pass too heavy a sentence on this form of corruption and brand it as the mark of an inferior race, we should remember that Sir Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, whom Shelley wrongly called "Lord Bacon," and whom Mr. Gladstone even more wrongly called "Francis, Lord Bacon," was degraded for selling the decisions of the highest court in the England of his day. Experience makes it probable that this reform will be one of the hardest to enforce, since its success depends largely on the good-will of the very judges to be reformed.

Yet another measure shows a daring spirit of innovation: the foundation of a new Medical College at Pekin, for the express purpose of introducing the methods of modern Europe. A license for this College has already been granted; but it has dark days before it, for it strikes a blow at vested interests of the most extensive character, founded on most venerable traditions. It is as though the Federal Government were to organize and endow a College for Mental Healing. One could predict stormy days for it, whatever opinion one held as to the Efficacy of Faith. It is true that Kuang-Hsu throws a sop to Cerberus by including in the course the traditional medical practice of China side by side with the new methods of the West. But it seems to me that this is a false move; for what battles there may be between the rival professors! Homeopathy and allopathy will be nothing to it.

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But the next reform on the Emperor's list admits of no healing balm. It is a decree for the suspension of the famous Six Boards, a series of venerable sinecures, supposed to look after the education of the heir apparent, the royal stables, the due performance of bowings and kneelings, the imperial banquets, and so forth. Every European Court has half a dozen departments equally ornamental. These interesting survivals—and the salaries—are to become a thing of the past, their nominal duties are to be passed on to Committees of the Senate, and the buildings they occupied are to be turned over to the new Medical College and the Pekin University.

From a tactical point of view, this seems the Emperor's first grave mistake, for it sets the whole of the permanent Civil Service against the reform programme. Like many another bringer of glad tidings, his course might have been smoother if he could only have been persuaded to leave the Scribes and Pharisees alone. And the whole army of bureaucrats and lesser officials has evidently taken alarm, for we find a recent edict of the Emperor speaking in the following terms:

"The Government of the Chinese Empire, striving to elevate the various departments of the administration, and with the sole design of conferring benefits on the people, wishes to employ to this end the methods of the nations of the West, since what is common to the Western nations and the Chinese, has been brought to greater excellence by the former, and may, therefore, serve for our advancement.

"At the same time, the bureaucrats and scholars of this Empire, whose views of foreign nations are characterized by the greatest ignorance, pretend that Western nations are totally devoid of order and enlightenment, not knowing that among the Western nations there are many forms of political science which have as their sole aim the moral elevation of the people, and their material well-being, and which, from their high development, are able to heap benefits on mankind, and to prolong the span of human life. In the West, all efforts are directed to procuring the blessings which mankind is entitled to.

"In our ceaseless efforts to reform various departments of the administration, we are by no means prompted by a mere desire for novelty, but by a sincere aspiration for the well-being of the Empire entrusted to us by Providence, and handed down to us by our ancestors. We shall not have fulfilled our duty, if we fail to secure to all our people, the blessings of peace and prosperity.

"And we are not less grieved at the slights which China has had to submit to, at the hands of foreign governments. But so long as we do not possess the knowledge and science of other peoples, we shall not be able to defend ourselves against them.

"At the same time, our subjects evidently fail to understand the

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true purpose of our unsleeping endeavors and exertions. The reason of this is that the lower classes of officials and the bureaucrats devoted to routine [the Scribes and Pharisees] not only do not make our intentions clear, but on the contrary, intentionally confuse the people with vain and unseemly speeches. Grieved and vexed that a true understanding of our intentions has not reached our subjects, we inform all China, by the present decree, of the true purpose of our doings. This is in order that our enlightened intentions may be known to the whole people, and that the people may know that trust is to be reposed in their Ruler, who, with the help of all, will mould the Government according to new principles, for the strengthening and elevation of the Chinese Empire.

"To this end we order the Viceroys and Governors to print these our decrees, and to exhibit them on notice-boards, and we order the Prefects and District Magistrates, and all school masters, to explain these decrees to the people. And likewise, we command the Treasurers, Provincial Judges, District Inspectors, Prefects, heads of districts and sub-districts, to lay before us, without fear, statements of their views on all imperial questions. And these statements are to be forwarded to us sealed, and must on no account be kept back by Viceroys and Governors. Finally, we order the present decree to be exhibited in a prominent place, in the offices of all Viceroys and Governors."

This is a most important document, and the key to much that will happen in the natural course of events in the Chinese Empire during the next few years. It is the personal confession of faith of the despotic Ruler of four hundred millions, more than a quarter of the whole human race. To carry out a programme like this Kuang-Hsu had need to be endowed with an uncommonly strong will, and, further, with unerring insight into the character of his helpers. Very much of future history depends on his possession of these two gifts.

Another projected reform is intended to cut at the root of what is certainly the greatest evil in the system of Chinese Government —the malversation of the revenues, made possible by the very loose system of accounts in vogue in the Treasury Department. An autocrat has been defined as one whose budget is not audited; if this be so, the Chinese Empire is suffering from an epidemic of autocrats. This time the trouble lies not so much with the Scribes and Pharisees, as with their friends, the Publicans and Sinners—the farmers of taxes, who bid so much for the right to extort what they can from a long-suffering public. The result of this malversation is such that while the taxable capacity of China is simply enormous, the system of peculation is so thorough and so much sticks to the fingers of the collectors that the Government is almost chronically bankrupt. The estimated revenue of the

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Chinese Empire amounts to about twenty cents a year for each inhabitant. This is about one-fiftieth of the rate for most European countries, and less than one-hundredth of that of some. So that if the revenues of China were raised to about the same level per head as, say, those of Belgium or Austria-Hungary, China would have a sum of from four to eight thousand million dollars a year to apply to imperial and administrative purposes. And should the innovations contemplated by Kuang-Hsu really be introduced, there is not the faintest doubt that China could bear as heavy taxes as Belgium or Austria-Hungary, and in that case what a formidable vista is opened up in the direction of allotments for the Chinese Army and Navy to be turned out of the new and modernized schools. Further, what sums could be spent on bounties to enable any and every manufacture to compete with European rival products, not only in China, but in all the markets of the world. The open door is one of those beautiful rules that may work both ways. Supposing the door should be found to open outwards as well as inwards, and supposing the first thing to come forth were a flood of subsidized screw-nails, sufficient to drive Mr. Chamberlain out of the market, would there not be a sort of poetic justice in that?

As far as the revenue is concerned, Kuang-Hsu's avowed purpose does not go beyond a stricter system of accounts, a stoppage of some of the innumerable leaks in the aqueducts which deprive the imperial reservoirs of their supplies. But even a slight measure of success in this direction will raise the revenue of China to a formidable amount, and, further, would increase her borrowing power practically without limit.

And here we approach a very important matter from an international standpoint. To carry out these schemes requires an army of trained and honest administrators; it also requires considerable material resources to keep things going while the changes are being introduced. But, while there are doubtless many strong and honest men in China, the Emperor does not seem as yet to have laid his hand on them; and, as an alternative, he suggests, or adopts the suggestion of, a very remarkable measure. It is nothing less than an appeal to Japan to lend China a band of trained administrators, such as England has lent to Egypt and India. Only, in the case of China, the initiative comes from the borrower, not from the lender. And in the light of this idea the recent

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Japanese mission to Pekin, under Marquis Ito, acquires a new significance.

An excellent statement of this side of the question appeared in a recent number of one of the Pekin radical papers. It is worth quoting at some length.

The writer begins by citing instances from the early history of China, and the story of Peter the Great, to show that reforms may best be carried out by foreign agents. He then urges the Emperor to seek the assistance of Marquis Ito in the task of regenerating China, asserting that only by a Japanese alliance can China take a firm attitude toward foreign powers and keep back the horrors of a general war. He continues:

"If Your Majesty could only persuade Marquis Ito to become confidential adviser of China, the reforms which you have undertaken would be promptly carried out, and the international bond between China and Japan would be greatly reinforced; while without Japan's help, the early realization of these reforms is impossible. Even granting that, among the Chinese who have recently entered the arena of public life, a few may be found endowed with the necessary strength of will, they are certain to meet with numberless hindrances, caused by the envy and fear of the enemies of progress. They will spend their energies and lose their reputations in vain efforts, and the ills of the body politic will remain uncured. On the other hand, Marquis Ito, as the experienced minister of a foreign government, who possesses Your Majesty's fullest confidence, and who is well known to fame, could have nothing to fear from intrigues in the task of introducing reforms. And foreign powers, in their international relations with China, would begin to treat our country in a very different manner. Their schemes of aggrandizement at our expense would instantly relax, and this would be the beginning of the transformation of China from a poor and weak country, surrounded with dangers, into a land full of wealth and strength, and rejoicing in the blessings of assured peace. This is the first reason why we must borrow talent from other nations.

"The fundamental principles of Chinese policy are isolation and separation, whilst among Western nations the principles of government are the very opposite of these, namely, intercourse and union; principles which serve to bring about the development of moral and material resources, while isolation and exclusion lead to the very opposite result. To these two principles, intercourse and union, the nations of the West are indebted for their greatness and civilization.

"From the geographical point of view, nations inhabiting the same continent should first unite among themselves. From the point of view of race and language, it is best for kindred peoples to be joined. The peoples of Europe and America do not inhabit the same continent as ourselves; they belong to another race, and speak other tongues. Therefore, in view of these natural obstacles, they cannot be closely united with China. It is quite otherwise with Japan. Although, carried away by her extremely rapid progress, and

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that unexpected development which roused the apprehensions of both Europe and America, Japan made war on China, yet, when confronted by Russia, Japan was helpless. It is true that, in order to counterbalance Russia, Japan is making friends with England; but experienced men of affairs are convinced that war between them cannot be averted in the future. Whichever side wins, there will be great changes in the balance of power in Asia. England approached Japan solely because of Russia; England is foreign to us in race; she is foreign to us therefore in spirit also. What if England, whose sole motive is profit, should find it profitable to change sides and enter into an alliance with Russia? Then Japan, standing alone, would certainly perish. Therefore Japan's natural ally is China. If the Celestial Empire, with its vast natural resources, its huge area, its enormous population, should really enter into an alliance with Japan, borrowing from Japan new methods for the development of China's resources, and for the education of competent men, then Japan and China together, in firm union and alliance, could easily withstand either Russia or England, and assure a general peace. This would secure the integrity of the Chinese Emperor's hereditary dominions, and put an end to foreign encroachment. The designs of foreign nations can only be withstood by the material might of China, acting under the moral and intellectual guidance of Japan. Russia cherishes designs of encroachment on the north; as regards England, which is striving to maintain peace and gain its own ends, its demands make Russian policy necessary, but in reality England's designs are wholly commercial and selfish. If an alliance existed between China and Japan, Russia could doubtless carry out her design of a Congress in the interests of universal peace, and could enter into enduring and peaceable relations with the other nations of Europe. This is not only very desirable for China and Japan, but it is an object worthy of the sincere aspiration of the whole human race."

At this point a temporary stop was put to the Chinese dream of regeneration by the interposition of the Conservative party, under the leadership of the Dowager-Empress Tshu-Chsi. This very remarkable woman is the widow of the Emperor I-Tshu, and was co-ruler with the Emperor Chai-Chun from 1861 to 1875, when Kuang-Hsu nominally ascended the throne, being then three years old. As a result of her interposition, the *Imperial Gazette* announced, as we all remember, that the Emperor found it impossible to deal unaided with the vast mass of administrative affairs in the present critical condition of the Empire, "and requested Her Majesty, the Dowager-Empress, who had twice directed the affairs of China with marked success, to lend him her guidance in the conduct of imperial business." Then came three edicts: First, the quite credible announcement that the young Emperor "was very sick;" then, that several reforms were postponed, the famous Six Boards being reinstated; and, lastly, a

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series of vigorous measures directed against the young Emperor's advisers. Finally it was declared that, as of yore, the Empire would be governed according to the principles of the sage Confucius.

One of the principles of this sage is obedience to parents; and we must take into account the enormous moral weight this obligation has in China before too hastily accusing the young Emperor of cowardice and supineness. But time is on his side.

It is always a delicate matter to speak of a lady's age, especially if that lady be an Empress; but the masterful Dowager is not far from the patriarchal three score years and ten, while her right-hand man, the hardly less masterful Li Hung Chang, is seventy-five. These two are certainly among the twenty most considerable personalities in the world at this moment, a sufficient evidence that the Chinese race is not effete. But mortality will claim its own, and then will come the turn of young Kuang-Hsu. If it comes even four or five years hence, he will be only about thirty, and his character will have matured in the meantime. I have quoted two Chinese documents at length, in order to show that, if we are counting on the moral and intellectual inferiority of the Chinese, we are suffering from a dangerous illusion. Therefore the success of the young Emperor's plans is quite a probable event; and that success will mean a huge revenue for China; a vast army and fleet on the most modern models, with skilled officers, probably Japanese; a quite unlimited power to subsidize Chinese manufacture against all the world's competition, with a working class of hundreds of millions ready to accept marvellously low wages and quick to master the cheapest and best methods. In a word, it would mean the possible swamping of Western lands, in a military as well as a commercial sense. So that the policy of the door which may open outwards is about the most dangerous for the West that could well be conceived.

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

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MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

BY POULTNEY BIGELOW.

THE two most interesting missionaries in China, on the occasion of my first visit, were Professor Wells Williams, who subsequently enriched Yale University by accepting a professorship there, and Father Palladius, an Archimandrite of the Greek Church who had charge of the Russian mission at Pekin. Williams's book on China is still standard authority, and the contributions of Palladius to his government are no less important, though unfortunately they are accessible only to those who read either Russian or German. Both men are now dead, but they represent, each in his sphere, two different sets of ideas in the missionary field.

When I first met him, the Greek Archimandrite had been forty years in Pekin, and had never been anywhere else, excepting for two caravan journeys to Russia. He was an elderly gentleman, with a smile like Benjamin Franklin's, and was famed at the Chinese capital for keeping the best wines and the best tobacco. He was a bachelor, and to-day I recall him when I try to fancy Epicurus in the body. He wore the Chinese pigtail and clothes to match, and people said he could give Chinese mandarins points on etiquette. He gave me, at least, many happy hours, for he talked with a frankness and facility rarely united in a Russian, least of all an Archimandrite. One day, for instance, I asked him bluntly how many converts he had made. He answered that he thought he had made one, but he did not wish to be taken as stating this positively. When I returned to China after an interval of twenty-one years, all my inquiries led me to respect the honesty of this Russian. He said, furthermore: "I have been here forty years, and perhaps I have converted one Chinaman. When missionaries tell you that they have done more than that, do not believe them."

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Father Palladius seemed to me not merely an epicure, but a trifle cynical in the things of his own profession. He seemed devoid of that happy enthusiasm which enables some people to delight in illusion. For instance, the present Admiral Holland told me he had a boatswain who was a noble Christian Chinaman. That Christian boatswain was quoted in missionary circles all about Hong Kong and up the Yangtsze River. The mouth of the scoffer was closed by that one convert for many months. The authority exercised by Admiral Holland over the mind of every white man, both merchant and missionary, was such that from Singapore to Hakodadi the work of evangelization received a perceptible boom through this one alleged convert. Every missionary in China owed him a handsome present—at least for a time. But Admiral Holland has returned to England, and the Chinese boatswain has turned out to be no more Christian than the sacred tooth of Buddha.

It is dreadfully baffling to ask questions about missionaries from one end of China to another, and then try to form any coherent conclusions. One might almost as well invite opinions about the Jews as a class. And, strange to say, this divergence of opinion is to be found exactly amongst those whose long residence amongst the Chinese entitles them to be regarded as respectable witnesses. To get thoroughly warmed up in the cause of converting John Chinaman, one must go to Temple Hill, near Chefoo, and talk with Dr. Corbett. He has worked in China almost as long as had Father Palladius when I first knew him. Dr. Corbett is a splendid type of American, dressed exactly as though in his native New England. He wears a long beard, looks about six feet in height, and his eyes sparkle with humor. His wife has been trained in the hospital service and helps him on the medical side of his mission. He welcomed me to a home equipped for family happiness on the Anglo-American plan, not the least important item being the prattle of his children. One must have been alone in China to understand the gratitude of a white man unexpectedly rescued from the depressing surroundings of Chinese travel, and permitted to sit down in a homelike family circle. Dr. Corbett told me that China was being rapidly prepared for a grand Christian awakening; that he and his colleagues had made a large number of converts, but that there were still more who were restrained from avowing their faith because

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they feared evil consequences from a social and political point of view. This was told me in the autumn of 1898, and I had heard the same thing at the same place in 1876. Now, Dr. Corbett is a practical worker and had cultivated this field for thirty-six years. He assured me that in that time he had noticed a great improvement in Shantung; that the natives had laid aside much of the hostility which they formerly showed toward strangers. For instance, in his early days such was the hatred of the foreigner that inn-keepers barred their gates when they saw a white man approaching. "To secure a night's lodging," said Dr. Corbett, "I would have to send my baggage and servants ahead, and only appear myself when these had been installed and my room practically engaged."

It is not often that we find the Chinaman outwitted by the white man, least of all by the missionary. "Now," said Dr. Corbett, "I travel up and down Shantung, visiting our different stations, and am received like any other traveller."

He took me over the schools of the mission, and enlarged with satisfaction upon the numbers who went forth to spread the light of the white man's civilization, if not Bible doctrine. Dr. Corbett believes that the Chinese who come to him do so from a pure love of religion. For my own part, I am inclined to think that Dr. Corbett's success is due mainly to his own persuasive personality; to his thorough knowledge of Chinese custom; and, above all, to the fact that in his schools the alleged converts receive an education which is of great practical value to them as merchants or mechanics. It is impossible to suppose that any Chinaman, after receiving the material benefits conferred by the missionary school, should go back to his fellows unmodified. A course in mechanics, arithmetic, history and philosophy, coupled with some practical demonstrations in the field of chemistry, must leave its impression on the mind even of a Celestial. But those who know the devious mind of that strange yellow creature consider him capable of pretending Christianity to the missionaries just as long as he can draw a profit therefrom.

At Chefoo, I had the pleasure of meeting several Protestant missionaries, amongst them Miss Downing, whom I had known in the same place and at the same work twenty-two years before. There are about a hundred and sixty American missionaries in Shantung, and to judge by those at Chefoo, their work is earnest

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and animated by an enthusiastic belief in the ultimate evangelization of China. One afternoon I was invited to address a prayer-meeting, where a large roomful of English and American missionaries of both sexes were gathered together, a few in Chinese garb. I felt horribly out of place; but yet I was enormously impressed by the courage and devotion to a lofty ideal stamped upon the faces about me. There are all sorts of missionaries in China, and of them all those typified by Dr. Corbett have the most spiritual vitality. His is the religion of the Puritan who preaches the Saviour crucified, and moves the human heart by truth and truth alone. The men of his mission will preach to Chinamen as to a New England audience, or as our Saviour preached by the Sea of Galilee. A blessing goes with such brave efforts, whether the reward be success or death at the hands of a Chinese mob.

My old friend Palladius called the American missionaries at Chefoo enthusiastic babies. My American friends regarded the Russian Archimandrite as a cynical fox.

Of course, I visited the Jesuit mission at Zickawei to see what changes a quarter of a century had wrought in that place. There were some new faces, but the spirit was unchanged. Chinese orphans, or rather foundlings, were being brought up to useful trades in this vast, missionary machine shop. Beautiful altar-pieces, representing Christian saints, were being chiselled by Chinese boys, who would probably soon be burning Joss-sticks to their favorite idols. The good Father pointed out some charred remains of church furniture, and told me the story of how the Chinese mob had set fire to their church, after killing and maiming some of the congregation. In China one becomes accustomed to this chronicle of murder, which is a symptom of the chronic war between mandarin and missionary. I have forgotten the name of the place where this particular massacre happened, nor can I remember the dozens like it. It would surprise the abstract Chinaman, however, to learn that these fragments of charred saints, so far from discouraging further missionary effort, only heighten the zeal of those volunteering for a like risk.

The Jesuit fathers were mainly French, though I had chats with one or two from Bavaria and the Rhine. They wore the Chinese queue and long robes, such as the local men of learning affect. The Jesuits have from the very beginning of their missionary efforts adopted the policy of beating the Chinaman on his

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own ground; challenging his respect by a show of learning, not merely in the sciences of Europe, but also in the classics of Confucius. Dr. Corbett, on the contrary, and with him most Evangelical workers, are opposed to imitating the Chinese in their dress or in anything which implies a lowering of the missionary to their level. The Bible Christian will make no pact with heathen philosophy, whereas the disciple of Loyola will conclude any bargain by which he may gain ever so small an advance upon the enemy.

On the occasion of my first visit to Zickawei, I was in company with the French minister at Pekin, and the priests entertained us with food and wine which rivalled those of Father Palladius. Standing at the window, I looked out upon a flat landscape emphasized by a small elevation on the horizon. I asked the priest what that was. He answered that it was the shrine of a saint, and that the Chinese Christians made pilgrimages thither once a year. When I pressed him to tell how he managed to get Christian saints at this place, he shrugged his shoulders, smiled pleasantly, and remarked that, as the Chinese enjoyed gatherings and gongs and banners and such tom-foolery, the missionaries had been compelled to create this pilgrimage or discourage Christianity. Hence this shrine.

In the courtyard he showed me a beautiful statue of the Virgin Mary, with two Chinese in native garb kneeling below. The Virgin was not in Chinese dress, but I suppose that will come in time.

This missionary institution has a school of architecture, where designs are made for Catholic buildings throughout China. Large numbers of books are printed here, all the work being done by Chinese foundlings, under the superintendence of the white priests. Wood-cutting and lithography are taught, also printing in color. Some lurid posters were shown to me, which were destined to hang up in Chinese Christian chapels. Their purpose was to discourage the bad Chinamen and stimulate the good ones. One poster represented the death-bed of the bad Chinaman, whose wickedness was attested by the opium pipe and the gaming dice at his bedside. A black devil, with horns, tail and wings, had fastened an iron collar around his neck, to which was linked a long iron chain. Dragons were rising from a hole in the ground, likewise monstrous flames. The black devil was pro-

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ceeding to drag the screaming and resisting wicked Chinaman to the flaming hole in the floor, while his wife and children looked on in distress. At the top of the picture was seated our Saviour, with Chinese slippers on his feet, and an expression on his face that was enough like that of a mandarin to please the average convert. Some angels with Chinese slippers were flitting about, chasing devils.

The pendant to this was the death of a good Chinaman, where the devil looked very much discouraged as he disappeared down a flaming trapdoor in the foreground. An angel in Chinese slippers was watching by the bedside, and above was represented a Chinaman in full official dress, kneeling on clouds before some Christian figures, whom I took to represent Saint Joseph, the Virgin Mary, and our Saviour.

Two of these pious posters were devoted respectively to Heaven and Hell. To a Chinaman, Hell is a pretty simple conception, which is refreshed every day in his daily walks about his native town, and whenever a criminal court is in session. The hell-poster, therefore, merely outdid Dante in the matter of snakes and devils tormenting wretches already crazy with suffering. The poster of Heaven was more subtle. There was a choir of slanting-eyed angels, beating gongs, tom-toms and many other instruments vaguely hinted at. In the background were enthroned the Creator and our Saviour, though the chief object of adoration appeared to be the Virgin Mary. In the foreground were a dozen or so happy faces of saints, amongst which were emperors, kings, popes, bishops, and—more conspicuous than any—two Chinamen. For the sake of local prejudice, the women were bunched separate from the men.

These posters were doing duty in 1876 and are so popular to-day that they are constantly reproduced at the mission.

The foundlings I saw were mostly scrofulous. Father Beck, a Bavarian, told me this was a common complaint all over China.

The Jesuits were the pioneer missionaries in China, and to-day do a great work. But now, as then, their success lies not in preaching things spiritual, so much as in demonstrating the power of the white man as compared to the yellow. Every sailor-man in the Far East has gratitude toward the Jesuits of Zickawei, because they tell him when to expect bad weather. The Fathers have a well-equipped observatory connected by wire with many

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stations in the Eastern Seas, and thus they can foretell the arrival of typhoons. It is a Jesuit priest who observes the sun, and at exactly twelve o'clock touches an electric button to move the time-ball by which Shanghai Harbor corrects her ships' chronometers.

I was shown a transit instrument made in New York, and a full line of reports of the Smithsonian Institute, the United States Weather Bureau, and other scientific bodies. On the walls were portraits of famous Jesuit missionaries, amongst them Ricci, Schall, and Verbiest, all in the gaudy dress of Chinese grandees. In the adjoining room a Chinese convert was working out typhoon probabilities, while in the yard below sore-headed foundlings were playing about the feet of the Virgin Mary. It was a weird picture this—the co-operation of science and Roman Catholicism for the overthrow of Buddha and Confucius.

The Bavarian priest was a jolly man all round. Like his brethren, he had come here, under vows of poverty and celibacy, to spend his whole life in the service of people who wished him ill in his work. He talked merrily about the relative merits of Munich beer while expecting at any moment an order to proceed to a station where life was highly insecure.

The Jesuit has, of course, only contempt for evangelical methods. He regards the Chinaman as a creature essentially different from the white man, and consequently as one whose senses and emotions must be differently awakened. The idea of a Christian revival in China, on the plan of the Methodist camp-meeting, is regarded by him as absurd. He proposes not to revolutionize, but merely to modify what already exists. As the early Christian Church absorbed amongst the Romans many heathen names and customs, so, in China, the Jesuits, from the days of Ricci to our own, have sought, not so much to expel the local religions as to Romanize them, if not Christianize them. The Jesuit finds much that is admirable in Buddha and Confucius; nor does he deny the possibility of a Chinaman's being a valuable convert and yet burning Joss-sticks at the graves of his ancestors. The Jesuit tells the learned Chinaman that Confucius was practically a Christian so far as his moral philosophy is concerned, and that Buddhism has many good points; but that the Roman Catholic is the religion which embodies what is good in every system, with the additional advantage of having expelled what was idolatrous.

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In the days of the early Jesuits this line of argument was fairly successful, but nowadays so strong has the feeling against foreigners become that the Chinaman is inclined to stick to his own gods merely because they are Chinese, and to distrust the gods of other nations merely because they are of the foreigner.

The American missionaries have the hardest time of any, because they are so much at the mercy of their Consul. Our Consul in the Far East represents to the American merchant and missionary the whole round of governmental functions, civil, military, and even ecclesiastical. Mr. Fowler, of Chefoo, told me that he was the only one out of eleven American Consuls in China who had been in that position more than a year. If a missionary wishes to make a will, to do any legal act, to obtain redress at law, the American Consul is his judge. If a missionary desires to marry, as often happens, he has to come to the Consulate. This is sometimes embarrassing, for missionaries are not rich, as a rule, and travelling in China is apt to be injurious to health, if not dangerous to personal safety. Imagine an American lady, perhaps a thousand miles from an American Consulate, compelled to travel under the horrible conditions prevailing in China in order to be declared legally married. We in America naturally ask, why another missionary, an ordained clergyman, could not marry them. United States law has, in China, at least, been construed in the manner most likely to swell the fees of the Consul.

The Rev. Dr. Sims, while I was in China, protested against being compelled to make long and dangerous journeys through China for matrimonial purposes. He stated that Dr. King, at Tai-an-foo, when engaged to Miss Knight of the same city, had been required to go to Chinkiang, under their protest, to be married. On their return up the Grand Canal, she took small-pox and died within one week after reaching home.

In another instance, equally well authenticated, the Rev. Dr. Royall and Miss Sullivan were married by a fellow-missionary, after having obtained the consent of the Consul-General at Shanghai. Some time after the marriage, however, this same Consul coolly informed them that he had been mistaken, and that they must come to the Consulate at Shanghai and go through the ceremony over again.

Please imagine the feelings of Miss Sullivan, thus charged by the highest legal tribunal with having lived with a man who was

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not her husband! This so affected the young lady that her life at one time was deemed in danger.

The Rev. Mr. Blaylock and Miss Humphries, who were married at Tai-an-foo by a brother missionary before about eighteen English and American witnesses, were subsequently informed that they were illegally united, and must proceed to do the thing over again before our Consul in Shanghai. They did so at great cost and personal risk. In returning up the Grand Canal, so said the Rev. Dr. Sims, Mr. Blaylock was taken seriously ill, was kept a year in bed at Chin-an-foo, and managed to reach home with extreme difficulty. He is now in America, a physical wreck.

The Rev. Mr. Hudson had gone with his betrothed to Chin-kiang. On their return Mr. Hudson was attacked by robbers, and narrowly escaped with his life.

The history of evangelical mission-work in China is a painful chronicle of persecution, nobly sustained by a large body of devoted men and women frequently poorly equipped for their work, and always inadequately organized. If all Christian missionaries could unite under one head and proceed upon some coherent plan of operations, the result would no doubt be better. At present, the Chinese marvel at the lack of unity amongst Christians, particularly when a Catholic chapel opens its doors close to a Baptist meeting-house, and the ministers of each tell the Chinese that their particular faith only is efficacious.

The missionary has in China to combat a vast volume of inherited conceit and prejudice. He has to deal with Orientals conscious of a historic sequence longer than that of any white dynasty, full of triumphs in the domain of science, and rich in philosophy. The Chinese stood at the head of civilization when Europe was but a barbarous province. Hundreds of inventions are claimed by the Chinese at a period when the learning of Europe was monopolized by a handful of monks. The Chinaman despises the profession of arms, and so far he knows of Europe little beyond her power as manifested in a military manner. He shuns intercourse with the outer barbarian, for the customs of his ancestors are sacred in his eyes, and he considers the future of China bound up with devotion to the existing order of things. A highly cultivated missionary who can confer with learned Chinese scholars can do much to remove unfounded prejudice in the small circle of his acquaintance, and this I be-

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lieve he does. The Chinaman who sees daily the good work done by a white man, if he does not himself become a Christian, at least lays aside the desire to murder him.

It is worth noting that where the white man in China is seen most frequently, there, little by little, he has awakened the most tolerance amongst the natives. How, then, can we account for the strange massacres that have taken place at short intervals, not merely in the interior, but at treaty ports like the one at Tientsin in 1870? A study of the different assaults upon foreigners in China forces us reluctantly to the conclusion that in almost every case these have been instigated and carried out, if not by Government agents, at least with their consent and approval. The public is officially informed, in every case, that such and such a mission station was destroyed by the mob, and that the Chinese Government could not possibly prevent such outbreaks. The Chinese Government, however, has always succeeded in punishing severely any disobedience against its own orders. It is only when the victim is a white man that the mandarins prove powerless to interfere. Even when ringleaders have been indicated, these have always found Chinese protection; and, in short, China from top to bottom has given abundant evidence that she does not desire to maintain her share in treaties which encourage white people to reside in the Celestial Empire.

The German Emperor, when he avenged the death of his missionaries by seizing Kiao Chao, acted in a manner strange to our rules of international law, but under the circumstances he gave China a lesson that she sadly required. It is a lesson which should be repeated on every fitting occasion; for, in the last three centuries, it is the only one by which she has ever profited in her intercourse with the white man.

In 1647, the East India Company commenced British trade with China by sending to the Canton River the four good ships "Dragon," "Sun," "Catherine," and "Anne." They anchored off the Bogue Forts, and at the request of the mandarins waited for the promised trade facilities. They waited four days, at the end of which time the Chinese forts opened fire upon them with "forty-six of iron-caste ordnance, each piece between six and seven hundredweight." The ancient chronicler then remarks: "Herewith the whole fleet, being instantly incensed, did on a sudden display the bloody ensign." The result of it was a landing party,

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the capture of the Fort, and an excellent understanding with the mandarins. From Canton River, in 1647, to Kiao Chao Bay, in 1897, no better method of dealing with official China has yet been devised. It has always been the same old story of official mendacity and treachery, followed by an explosion of wrath and violence from the white man's side, after which has ensued a period of good understanding and trade expansion.

Up to the time when Queen Victoria ascended the throne of England, Anglo-Saxon traders were tolerated at Canton much as infected emigrants are treated in New York harbor. They were the victims of official insolence and interference; forbidden to have their wives and families with them; forbidden to go into the country; forbidden to enter the Chinese city. No Chinaman was allowed to give them instruction, and their intercourse was strictly limited to officials specially selected. No changes have been effected during the many years that have passed, save such as have been wrung from an unwilling government by threats of bombardment. The white man has had no serious war with China, speaking in a European sense. The Opium War, the Lorcha Arrow War, the Anglo-French Expedition of 1860—these and similar smaller enterprises were all undertaken to avenge gross breaches of the law of nations. The history of England's intercourse with China shows but too clearly that, so far from having misused her strength in bullying a weaker nation, she has, to an extraordinary extent, submitted to official insult and violation of treaty rights rather than have recourse to force.

When Commodore Perry anchored his fleet in Yeddo Bay, less than half a century ago, he awakened a people artificially hampered by mediæval custom, but whose bodies and brains pulsated to the calls of the nineteenth century. Japan arose as one man, and to-day honors the name of Perry with a fervor only second to that which we have for Christopher Columbus. Europe has been thundering at the gates of China for three hundred years, but this thunder has started no more echo than moist firecrackers. One city of China may be smashed to pieces, but the next takes no interest in it. A whole province may be overrun by the enemy without calling forth any help from its neighbors. Through generation after generation of officialism, ignorant, retrograde and corrupt, the great body of China has become torpid, and will remain so for just so long as the white man permits the

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present administration to persist. The vast official body of China has, or believes that it has, a direct pecuniary interest in the repression, or at least the discouragement, of foreign intercourse. The official ring of China covers that country to a degree not far removed from that to which Tammany Hall controls New York. The mandarin has large vested interests which are all threatened by intercourse with people of our education; consequently the rulers of cities encourage their people to believe that dirty streets are good, and that pestilence must be combated by backsheesh to the priests. The white man forms a settlement wherein the streets are cleaned, lighted and policed; where hospitals care for the sick; where courts of justice are open to all. Such things as these are an abomination to the orthodox Chinese official, to the same degree that the late Colonel Waring, who first cleaned the streets of New York, was an eyesore to professional politicians.

Chinese officialdom is at war with the white man's civilization, and it fights with the weapons it deems most effective. Gunboats and battalions are not to its taste. So it makes a treaty every paragraph of which it proceeds to nullify the moment the ink is dry. It instigates murder, and then explains officially that it was the mob that was responsible.

In 1858 there was signed the famous treaty of Tientsin. The eighth article of this treaty is regarded as something of a Magna Charta, at least by the missionary. It reads:

> "The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it, or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities, nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with."

So far as paper and ink are concerned, the white man in China has secured as much official protection as he needs for carrying on trade or conducting missionary enterprise. But, side by side with these generous treaty concessions, the Chinese Government has tolerated the systematic incitement of the mob to every act calculated to make treaties of no avail. So far back as 1754, foreign residents complained that "injurious posters were annually put up by the government, accusing foreigners of horrible crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace."

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Even then, the accusations were made that missionaries gouged out the eyes of foundlings and mutilated women in a vile manner—charges which have been persisted in to our day. When vigorously addressed by a combination of foreign powers, the Pekin government has always officially repudiated the authors of these posters; but at the same time it has given private intimation that this propaganda was pleasing to the Emperor. Indeed, those who publish the filthy posters invoke official sanction by printing, as preface, the *Sacred Edict*—a sort of paternal address from the throne promulgated by the joint efforts of two canonized emperors some two centuries ago. Dr. Williams, in his "Middle Kingdom," says that this document is regarded as a most sacred command, which is proclaimed throughout the Empire by the local officers on the 1st and 15th days of every month.

As a pendant of the Tientsin Treaty it is worth preserving. It reads thus:

"With respect to heterodox books not in accordance with the teachings of the sages, and those tending to excite and disturb the people, to give rise to differences and irregularities, and to undermine the foundations of all things; all such teach corrupt and dangerous doctrines which must be suppressed and exterminated. . . . From ancient times, the three religions have been propagated together. Besides Confucianism, which holds the pre-eminence, we have Buddhism and Taoism. . . . There is, however, a class of vagabond adventurers (Christian) who under the pretext of teaching these systems (Buddhism, etc.), bring them into the greatest disrepute, making false parade of what is propitious and unpropitious, and of future rewards and punishments, for the purpose of giving currency to their foolish and unfounded stories. Their object in the beginning is to make a living. By degrees they collect men and women into promiscuous gatherings for the purpose of burning incense. . . . The worst of all is that there lurk within these assemblies treacherous, depraved and designing persons, who form dangerous combinations and pledge themselves to each other by oaths. They meet in darkness and disperse at dawn. They imperil their lives, sin against righteousness, and deceive and entrap the people. . . . Such is the religion of the West, which reveres the Lord of heaven. It also is not to be regarded as orthodox. Because its teachers (the early Jesuits) were well versed in mathematics, our government made use of them. Of this you must not be ignorant. As to unauthorized doctrines which deceive the people, our laws cannot tolerate them. For false and corrupt teachers our government has fixed punishments."

Thus with one hand the Chinese Government promises the white man legal protection, and with the other pledges his favor to the mob when it guts the missionary compound and murders the unorthodox inmates.

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The public misrepresentations of the spirit and aims of the Christian religion and of the objects which animate Christian missionaries in their work are almost incredible. I have before me a specimen of the posters which are from time to time exhibited throughout the country with a view to bring indignation and contempt upon the foreigner. It represents our Saviour in the shape of a hog. He is being worshipped by two "foreign devils," the one marked "teacher," the other "disciple." These two are branded with the most insulting epithets known to Chinese vocabulary, notably those indicating lack of sexual virtue. One inscription reads: "This is the beast which the foreign devils follow. The hog's skin and bristles are still upon him."

Down the left-hand side of the picture and in the middle of the poster are inscriptions which are absolutely too obscene for publication.

The interest of this poster lies not in its indecency and quaint exhibition of ignorance, but in the fact that it has been distributed with official connivance throughout China; that it has been exposed in public places alongside of imperial edicts forbidding the publication of such posters; and that whenever massacres have taken place the mob has been first inflamed by teaching of this nature.

In 1870, on the 21st of June, the mob at Tientsin attacked the French mission, murdering ten Sisters of Mercy, amongst others. This massacre was followed by a trial which even the most careful students of things Chinese regarded as a fraud. A dozen or so of innocent coolies were decapitated, but the real authors were rewarded, because they were high in office. In the midst of the Franco-German War this horrible massacre was little noticed in Europe; and, after all, it differed only in degree from a dozen others, all instigated by the official organization which prepared the filthy posters to which I have referred.

The Tientsin massacres were preceded by a flood of posters teaching the mob that missionary establishments abducted native women and children for purposes of mutilation.

Every diabolical practice is attributed to missionaries, not merely for religious purposes, but for the mere greed of money.

The Chinaman is taught to think that they extract the eyes of his dead countrymen in order to use them in the manufacture of precious metals. Some recent cartoons even accuse Christians

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of gouging Chinese eyes out before death. One cartoon exhibits to the mob two murderous missionaries in the act of taking out eyes, while a couple of blind Chinamen are groping about in misery. This cartoon is headed: "The Hog Sect gouging out the eyes." A popular pamphlet distributed by officials for the purpose of inciting hatred of the foreigner makes this statement:

"In case of funerals, the religious teachers eject all the relatives and friends from the house, and the corpse is put into the coffin with closed doors. Both eyes are secretly taken out, and the orifices sealed up with plaster. This is what is called 'sealing the eyes for the Western journey.' . . . The reason for extracting the eyes is this: From one hundred pounds of Chinese lead eight pounds of silver can be extracted, and the remaining ninety-two pounds of lead can be sold at the original cost, but the only way to obtain this silver is by compounding the lead with the eyes of Chinamen. The eyes of foreigners are of no use for this purpose, hence they do not take out the eyes of their own people, but only those of the Chinese. The method by which the silver is obtained has never been discovered by any of the native Christians, during the long period in which this religion has been propagated here."

No trash is too silly so long as it charges cruelty, lewdness, and money-greed to the white man in general, and to the missionary in particular. At a distance of ten thousand miles, we can afford to smile at these infantile productions and pity the perpetrators, as did John Huss those who reviled him. But to the white man on the spot these are more than the squibs of mischievous children. They are the programme of a government too weak to establish sound administration, but strong enough to obstruct the white man in his efforts at reform.

POULTNEY BIGELOW.

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A REPUBLICAN VIEW OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

BY GENERAL CHARLES HENRY GROSVENOR.

If any one supposes that the Republican party will inaugurate the campaign of 1900 by a defensive platform or by defensive policies, he will learn a lesson in politics which will be valuable to him in the future. A party which has enjoyed two years of power, with the executive and both branches of the legislative body in unison with its purposes, ought to have so conducted its action as to justify an aggressive campaign against the enemy, rather than an apologetic campaign in defense of itself. The Republican party this year stands in that position. There is not one act of the administration of William McKinley that challenges, requires or will have at the hands of his intelligent friends a defense or apology. Such a course would be unnecessary. The achievements in every branch of governmental effort have been without parallel in the history of political administration in this country; and the arrows of criticism, which may be hurled against it for partisan purposes, will fail of effect and fall splintered and ineffective at the feet of the Republican administration. A distinguished representative in Congress, wise, sagacious and clear-headed, has formulated a platform which, while it is not, perhaps, a model of political phrasing, covers more ground than any like number of words probably have ever covered, and which would be a proper, complete and exhaustive platform for the Republicans of 1900. It is as follows:

"Resolved, That the transition from deficits in peace to surpluses in war; from bond issuing to bond paying; from hopeless farmers to happy farmers; from men hunting jobs to jobs hunting men; from soup houses to banquet tables; from poverty to prosperity; is not the result of accident or chance, or famines in India, but is the result of having a party in power that knows how to run the country and command its confidence."

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The Republican party came into power in 1897 in the executive department of the government, and in the House of Representatives, and with a public sentiment so potential and irresistible in its effect that it practically carried into co-operation with it a Democratic-Populistic majority in the Senate. It may be said in a few words, for it needs no elaboration and no statistical tables, that the condition in this country on the election-day of 1896 was more deplorable than at any other period following the American Revolution. These are strong words. They are true words. There may have been a greater percentage of poverty in the colonies, when they had just become States, during the period of confederation and before the adoption of the Constitution; but there never was such a condition of horror and doubt and uncertainty and fear as there was on the day when Mr. McKinley was elected President of the United States.

Let us summarize it briefly. There was more idle labor than ever had been known before. There were more idle spindles, mills, factories and shops than had been known before. Foreign trade was falling off. Home markets had been destroyed. Confidence was to be found nowhere. Hunger, nakedness, fear, disaster, trouble were to be encountered everywhere.

I cannot so well indicate the nature of the situation which existed then as by inserting here an extract from the great speech of Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, in assuming the chair at the temporary organization of the National Convention. I feel under obligations to him for the authority he has given me to use this extract, and I point to it as a most wonderfully condensed description of this deplorable era in our country's history.

"In the four years preceding Mr. Cleveland's Administration we had paid $260,000,000 of the national debt; he added $230,000,000 to its burdens. He found a tariff act, bearing the name of his successor and our President, fitted to meet the requirements of our necessary expenditures, to furnish the needed protection to our farmers and manufacturers, and to insure the steady and remunerative employment of those who labor. Instead of permitting manufacture and commerce that repose and stability of law which are essential for working out economic conditions, he at once recommended violent and radical changes in revenue and tariff provisions, recommendations which his party in Congress proceeded partially and disastrously to execute. The appalling result of his policy is still fresh in the memory of millions who suffered from it. In four years the country witnessed some 60,000 commercial failures, with liabilities aggregating more than $900,000,000. One hundred and seventy-seven railroads, with a mileage of

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45,000 miles, or twice the circle of the globe, and with securities amounting to nearly $3,000,000,000, were unable to meet their interest charges and passed into the hands of Receivers. More than 170 national banks closed their doors, with liabilities reaching $70,000,000; wool and all farm products which tariffs could affect, lost tens of millions in value; farm mortgages were foreclosed by thousands throughout the Great West; our agricultural exports shrunk in value; the balance of trade which had been in our favor turned ruinously against us; the National Treasury was depleted of its gold reserve; our Government bonds were sold to syndicates at far below their market value before or since, and our steadily declining revenues were insufficient to meet the necessary expenses of conducting the Government. If capital alone had suffered, the loss would have been great, but not irremediable. Unfortunately those who rely upon their daily labor for their sustenance, and their families dependent upon them, constituting the great mass of the American people, were made to feel heaviest this burden of disaster. Nearly one-third of the laboring population of the United States were thrown out of employment, and men by thousands, able and willing to labor, walked the highways of the land clamoring for work or food.

"Four years of commercial misfortune enabled our industries to meet, in a measure, these changed and depressed conditions, but when President McKinley was inaugurated the country was in a state more deplorable than had existed for a generation."

During the last ten days of the contest of 1896, the Democratic party, through its leader, its candidate, its press, its stump orators, appealed to the lowest, worst element of the people of the country in a direction calculated, if not intended, to stimulate riot, bloodshed and revolution; and the sun went down, on the night before the election, upon a country whose hope for the future hung trembling in the balance of the ballot box. Every time the Chairman of the Democratic Committee in Chicago announced the probability of Mr. Bryan's election, the value of the property of the country fell by an amount greater than the whole cost of the Spanish war, including the conquest of the Philippines. This was due not alone to the financial features of the Democratic platform, nor to the threatened falling of prices and idleness of labor; it was not less due to the spirit of revolution that was fostered by the words spoken from the rear end of the "special" that traveled through the labor districts of the Middle West.

The laboring men of the country were told that they were being oppressed and downtrodden, and that money and plutocracy were weighing them down. Strange that the present Populist nominee should again invoke the word "Plutocrat!" They were

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informed that the courts were revolutionary and oppressive in their character and decisions, and resistance to them was suggested. They were appealed to in language that would cost the men who uttered it imprisonment if spoken in public in many of the countries of the world. It was an appeal to the hungry; it was an appeal to the desperate; it was an appeal to the vicious; and the defeat of Mr. Bryan possibly alone saved the country from worse results than mere poverty. The farmer was told that the forty-five cents a bushel he was getting for his wheat would never be higher until silver was coined, at the ratio of 16 to 1, free in the mints of the country. They were told that money would never again be so plenty as it was then until free coinage was adopted as the remedy for the ills under which we labored. This was a seductive cry to the farmer upon whose farm rested a mortgage, which, with its accumulated interest, forbade the hope of payment. It was a seductive suggestion to the men who had struggled against the conditions that were surrounding them, and who saw no hope anywhere except through the operation of this fallacy which was paraded as a truth.

Out of this chaos of horror has come prosperity. Out of this hell of threatened revolution have come peace and order. Out of uncertainty have come security and confidence. It would be idle to waste the time of the reader in going into figures to show precisely what all this has resulted in. There is no transition recorded in the financial and industrial career of any nation that compares with it. Out of disaster has come daylight. Out of depression, expansion. The business interests of the country stand in a better attitude to-day than ever before in the history of the United States or than do those of any other country in the world. What has worked this miracle?

And now comes the issue of the campaign. We will charge that the troubles of 1896 came from the proposition of the Democratic party to destroy the integrity of the currency of the country. We will charge, and everybody will believe, that the substantial free-trade act of 1894 halted, blighted, overthrew and destroyed the industrial prosperity of the country. There can be no answer to these charges. The Democratic party must show that the deplorable condition of the country in 1896 can be accounted for in some other way before they can expect the support of the country.

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We passed in 1892 from a condition which the President at that date, in December of that year, described to Congress as one of the most prosperous in all the history of America, and we plunged headlong into despair and darkness. This was the outcome of the Democratic administration. It was the result of Democratic politics. The substantial interests of the United States were then beggared by Democratic policy and purpose, for that dark period was the first time in the third of a century that followed 1861 when the Democratic party had control in all the branches of the government. The menace came with their election to power. The fruition of disaster followed quickly. If this were an old matter, statistics would be available and desirable. It is fresh in the memory of all, and does not need to be bolstered up by figures. The rising sun, shining forth in its glory, does not more quickly affect the surrounding conditions of frost or dew or mist than did the dawning of the McKinley administration, even three months before it came into power, affect the malign conditions which had resulted from Democratic administration. It was felt in the very atmosphere that better times were coming. Hope took the place of despair; enterprise took the place of apathy; and times began to recuperate slowly, very slowly, but as it now appears, certainly and surely.

Congress met on the 15th of March, and proceeded to redeem every pledge of the platform of 1896, and every promise that William McKinley had made. It passed the Dingley tariff law; and when that measure was under final consideration, and when an hour had been assigned to Mr. Bailey, of Texas, for the closing speech of the opposition, that distinguished young statesman, full of faith in his own party and in its policy, standing in his place upon the floor of the House of Representatives, conscious of his duty and responsibility as the leader of the Democratic minority, said, in effect, to the Republican majority: "Pass this bill, as you will. If it brings prosperity to the country, as you predict, there will be no occasion for us to nominate a candidate for President in 1900; but if you pass it and fail, and good times do not come, you need not nominate a candidate in 1900, for it will be a waste of time and effort."

Conscious that the financial affairs of the government were in an unsatisfactory condition, which had grown out of the easy methods of the Democratic majority which might have destroyed

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the credit of the government, the House of Representatives promptly took up the financial question. A caucus committee of the Republicans of the fifty-fifth Congress who had been elected to the fifty-sixth Congress was appointed to prepare and present a bill to secure forever, while Republicanism dominated the country, a scheme of finance that would establish the gold standard intelligently and completely.

The tariff bill was passed and went into effect on the 24th of July, 1897. The financial bill followed in the early days of the next Congress, and the effect upon the country has been magical. It is too conspicuous to require elaboration in description. It is known and appreciated by everybody, and all the old Democratic ideas of a stone wall around the country, which would exclude foreign trade and limit us to a provincial market, have all been dissipated under a condition which will give to the American people in this fiscal year, now approaching its end, more than five hundred million dollars of a balance of trade in favor of the United States.

To-day the strongest argument, apparently, that can be made in favor of the election of the Democratic ticket, now already nominated by the Populists and doubtless to be indorsed by the Democrats, is that the Republican party by its wise legislation has put it beyond the power of the Democratic party to do any harm with the finances of the country, even though the candidate of the Populists should be elected. This is a strange suggestion. It is that the teeth of the viper have been drawn so that he can no longer be injurious, and that a party radically wrong in politics, unsound in every dogma, may now be safely trusted with political power, because the intelligence and patriotism of its opponents have deprived it of the power to destroy the interests of the country. This is the argument that is being cheerfully put forward by the Democratic press and by their allies of the independent persuasion, and that is heard on every hand.

The election of Mr. Bryan, as the situation stands to-day, would insure the election of a large Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. Drunk with success, and maddened by former defeats, this majority would at once deadlock the processes of the government, until their pet foibles could be put into operation. More than that, a sweeping victory for Mr. Bryan would insure Democratic control of the Senate not later than

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the second half of his first term, and he, intrenched in power by one victory by this sort of argument, would be in a position to secure his re-election to a second term, and, with it, the control of both branches of Congress. Nor is this all. We have seen the dangers to the commercial interests of the country which were involved in the mere threat of Democratic success; and the very moment that Mr. Bryan and his school of politics should be elected to the executive branch, and a Democratic majority sent to the House, uncertainty, stagnation and trouble would come. Having "scotched" the snake, the people of the United States must see to it that, until his whole nature is changed, he must be kept out of power. Defeat Mr. Bryan and his Populistic party this year and there will grow up in this country a real Democratic party. The dogma of the free and unlimited coinage of silver would be forever buried out of sight. The Populistic branch of the Bryan party would be dissolved forever, and American politics would resume the position they occupied in former times.

The people of the United States make party platforms. A convention assembles and puts on paper an expression of the sentiment of the delegates; but, long before the frost of November, the people decide what it is they are interested in, and the single great issue comes to the front. In the present instance, the brief platform which has been placed at the head of this article will be the platform about which the people will be talking, and about which they will be voting. They understand this. They have felt the operation of the other doctrine, and they want no more of it.

Many years ago, the Prime Minister of England, when consulted by the King as to the probability of the Government's being repudiated at the elections, said to him: "Sire, the people of England will never repudiate the government, while wheat is a dollar a bushel." These words have come down to us through a long line of tradition, and it is probable that the words "dollar" and "bushel" were not used, but equivalent terms were doubtless the basis of the response of the Prime Minister.

The people of the United States, with the scars of 1892 and 1896 still fresh and bleeding, will not go back and place the party in power that did all that has been here so faintly described, while the present conditions remain and the present generation lives. Let the Democratic orators eliminate from their *répertoire*

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all the small politics of imperialism and canteen and pension legislation, and all the little things that have come bubbling up out of the chaotic mind of the Democratic party, and let them train themselves from the start to answer two or three questions which will here be put.

First. What was it that precipitated this country from the high pinnacle of the commercial, industrial and financial prosperity of 1892 down into the pit in which we wallowed for four years?

Why was it that, out of the prosperous condition of 1892, we so soon found ourselves struggling in the mazes of doubt, uncertainty, and despair?

Again, why was it that the mere election of Mr. McKinley and a Republican Congress turned the tide the other way, and kept it rising, until the very mountain tops of the prosperity of 1892 are submerged in the oceans of prosperity of 1900?

Why was it that wages advanced, even before McKinley took his seat; and why was it that, from that day to this, there has been a steady growth of industrial, financial, and commercial prosperity throughout this land?

Answer these questions. Who did it? What did it? How was it done? What policy changed the conditions? What was it that restored confidence to the people? Answer these questions, and then you have satisfactorily answered the questions which the people of this country will put to the Democratic managers of 1900. The failure of the Democratic party to make successful answer will mark the coming final defeat of their whole organization.

But Mr. Bryan says that "money, trusts and imperialism" are to be the three great issues of the campaign of 1900. Imperialism! What a humbug! What an assault upon common sense! What a reflection upon the intelligence of the people of the United States, to talk about imperialism and militarism! Why, we are within less than a year of the time when we shall have only twenty-seven thousand soldiers of all arms, with a population of possibly eighty millions of people. Imperialism, in a government like this! Imperialism, in a government that has done more in the last two years to disseminate, among the fallen and the suffering, the blessings of liberty and justice and democracy, than has been done by all the other countries of the world

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for a quarter of a century! Imperialism, by a political party that has established a democracy in the Sandwich Islands and given to those people a government liberal, free and stable! Imperialism, charged at the door of a party that has established a free government, with educational accompaniments and all the blessings of law and liberty, in the Island of Porto Rico, and that has taken out of the Treasury of the United States and handed over to that people a sum of money munificent in comparison with anything that they ever before enjoyed! Imperialism, charged against a government whose administration stands ready to-day to confer the blessings of free government upon the millions in the Philippine Islands, if they will only accept it in the spirit with which it is being tendered!

All these troubles and controversies have grown out of the acquisition of the Philippine Islands by the American people. At the close of the war with Spain, owing to the conditions of the Treaty of Paris, we entered upon a new field of operations. Nobody will deny this. We entered upon this field with fear and uncertainty. We entered upon it with all parties divided upon the great question of the wisdom of acquiring territory abroad and beyond our borders. There was doubt and misgiving in the minds of Republicans, whether it was the true policy of the American Government to acquire sovereignty over Porto Rico, Guam and the Philippines; and the whole question was submitted, under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, to the representatives in the Senate of the American States for their determination. The treaty was brought into the Senate. The question before the Senate was the plain, straightforward question of ratification or non-ratification. The time for arresting the acquisition of foreign territory was then, and the hour when "imperialism" might have been forever eliminated out of American politics was then. It was a fair question, fairly submitted. Every Senator had the right and was charged with the duty to vote as he saw fit, and there was grave doubt and uncertainty as to what the result would be. About that time, some peculiar coincidences occurred in this country. One was an order from the War Department for a Nebraska regiment to proceed to Cuba and aid in the military operations there. Another was the sudden and at the time unexplained resignation of the distinguished colonel of this regiment; and the third was the pres-

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ence of that colonel in the City of Washington, using his mighty influence and great eloquence to persuade the Senate of the United States to ratify the Treaty of Paris. And let it not be forgotten that his presence accomplished the work, and that but for him it would have failed. It will not be forgotten by the American people that, when the doors of the Senate were closed to all the people of the United States except the Senators, and they entered upon the solemn duty of voting to ratify or reject the treaty, William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, ex-colonel of a Nebraska regiment, appealed to those in the Senate with whom his personal influence would be the strongest to vote for ratification. One of the men was a Senator from his own State, who had been theretofore counted as against the treaty, and who suddenly turned over and voted for its ratification, and caused its ratification by the bare majority his vote secured. So the party whose great leader did this cannot afford, in 1900, to condemn the administration of the Republican party for having entered upon this new field in its foreign policy. At the door of the present Populist candidate for President, William J. Bryan, lies more of the sin, if it be a sin, more of the honor, if it be an honor, more of the glory, if it be a glory, of having secured the ratification of the Treaty of Paris and the assimilation of the Philippines and Porto Rico into the property and territory of the United States than lies at the door of any other one living man.

But this same Populist candidate for the Presidency says that the trusts will be an issue; and, among other things in his article in the June number of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, he says:

> "The Democratic party is better able to undertake this work (the overthrow of the trusts) now than it was a few years ago, because all the trust magnates have left the party. The Republican party is less able than ever before to make a successful war against the trusts, because it numbers among its membership all the trust magnates it ever had, and in addition it has all the Democratic party formerly had."

Presumably, this eloquent paragraph was written before it was suddenly discovered that some of the great "magnates" of Tammany Hall, including the Mayor of the City of New York, were members of the Ice Trust of New York City. Doubtless, if the Populist candidate for President had this paragraph to rewrite, he would add at the end of it in parenthesis, "excepting New York City and New York State."

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In this connection, it may be proper to refer to the fact that Mr. Bryan has reproduced a line of argument which has been exhausted heretofore many times, tending to show that the tariff is the promoter of trusts, and he states that "the high tariff has been a bulwark to the trusts." I presume that, if any intelligent American citizen should be called upon for an illustration of the most successful and most dominating combination of capital in the United States, he would select the Standard Oil Trust or Company, as the case may be. Then, in studying the tariff laws of the country, it would be discovered that there is no such thing as a tariff on the product out of which this enormous corporation has grown rich. Now, whether Mr. Bryan, the Populist candidate, when he said that "the high tariff has been a bulwark to the trusts," labored under the impression that there is a tariff on ice, of course we shall never know; but the two illustrations, the Standard Oil and the Ice Trust, operate as complete refutations to the whole of the absurd theory promulgated by him.

A few words on the subject of trusts. There is not a more efficient statute on the statute books of the United States than the Sherman anti-trust law, which was placed there by a Republican Congress, signed by a Republican President, and, after having lain dormant during an entire four years of Democratic administration under Mr. Cleveland, was put into active force by a Republican Attorney General and a Republican administration. Under its operations, the great combinations and railroad interests, East and West, were broken up and destroyed; and under it the doctrine was established by the Supreme Court of the United States that substantially makes it impossible for trusts to manufacture goods in this country for interstate commerce without violating the law of Congress. It will be noticed that the Democratic arguments of denunciation against trusts are usually unaccompanied by any suggestion of a remedy, and the most that is suggested in this article to which I have referred so often is that Congress should be authorized to control, modify, limit, and, if necessary, destroy the industrial corporations created by State authority. A provision of this character was brought into Congress at the recent session, in the form of a constitutional amendment, and practically in the very form and essence of Mr. Bryan's proposition; and it was defeated by almost the solid vote of the Democrats on the floor of the House. So far from the Republi-

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can party being unfitted to deal with the trust question, it is the only party that has ever done anything toward the limitation and destruction of injurious trusts. It was the Republican party that enacted the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which was sneered at by the Democrats. It was a Democratic Attorney-General who pronounced the law ineffective and refused to prosecute under it. It was a Republican Administration that took up the law, and made it so effective as to break up two of the greatest trust combinations ever formed on this continent; and by a recent decision of the Supreme Court that law, thus condemned by the Democrats, has been held to be effective even in the matter of the manufacture by trusts of commodities for interstate commerce. But the Republican party has never lost its head upon the subject of trusts. These mighty industries, which to-day are making this country powerful in all the markets of the world, have grown up out of conditions that are inherent and natural to the progress, development and evolution of trade and commerce. No frantic appeal of the demagogue can drive the Republican party to the insanity of overthrowing the industrial institutions of this country, in consideration for any temporary gain that might come to it from such a course. The interests of the people of this country in this matter of trusts are safely confided to the Republican party. The intense loyalty of the Republican party to the people of the country and its record hitherto, justify that confidence.

One of the issues of the coming campaign which will be presented by the Republicans is the issue of the re-election of William McKinley. He was elected President of the United States in a campaign, the issues of which were purely domestic, and of common knowledge and common discussion. The tariff, the financial condition of the country, and the minor suggestions of the platform were all subjects about which we had had discussion from time immemorial. The great prominence of Mr. McKinley in tariff debate and tariff legislation pointed him out conclusively as the proper candidate; but there were very few people in the United States who understood the size of the man and the capabilities of the man, when they elected him President. More than three years of his Administration have passed. During that time questions of greater moment have arisen than were ever presented to any Administration of our government hitherto. He has ap-

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pointed more men to office, civil and military, far more, than did any predecessor of his; and to-day, notwithstanding the new conditions and new offices that have been filled, it would puzzle the most virulent Democrat to point to five bad appointments that he has made. He has filled many of the great judicial offices of the country, and he has sent abroad an army of office holders. Who can criticise justly the character of those appointments? Little did the people of the United States think, when McKinley took his seat as President, that we would shortly be plunged into a great war; and yet we were and we found ourselves substantially without army or munitions. We raised an army of a quarter of a million, and equipped it with the best of every kind of war material and sent it into the field, organized and commanded by a corps of officers equal to those of any other nation in the world; and, inside of one hundred and ten days, we had conquered Spain on land and sea, had destroyed her navy, and she was on her knees begging for quarter.

New issues have arisen, more trying and more novel and more difficult of solution than ever before confronted a President of the United States. Abraham Lincoln was confronted with the single question of his duty to overthrow rebellion and save the Union; but here have thronged upon the Administration innumerable questions—questions of constitutional construction, questions of the power of the President at home and abroad, questions of the relation of the annexed islands to the United States. All these questions have been met by the Administration and practically solved in the interest of our country and of the countries thus being assimilated. No such power was ever in the hands of a human being, within the two past centuries, as has been placed in the hands of William McKinley. Not only has it been his duty, under the Constitution, to enforce the laws of Congress and of the country at home, but he has found himself possessed of power without limitation. He has found himself making decisions regarding questions of enormous import where there was no court of appeal, and yet it may be stated with absolute confidence that there has been no act of his that savored of tyranny, oppression, wrong or indifference to duty or failure to do justice to all. He has been governed and controlled in his actions and decisions by the spirit of the Constitution and the suggestions of our civilization. To him it has not been important whether

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the Constitution goes to the islands *ex proprio vigore,* or not, so far as his action has been concerned. Every guaranty of the Constitution in favor of liberty, justice, fair play, equal rights has been the guiding star of his Administration. No man has been wronged in his rights of property, of liberty or the enjoyment of any of the things and qualities guaranteed to the American citizen by the Constitution, though he may have been the resident of a distant island and been, in fact, a savage unlearned, and incapable of defending his own rights.

This is one of the issues of the campaign, the re-election of William McKinley. Will the people of the United States, crossing this mighty river of constitutional construction and constitutional application, "swap horses," to use a homely illustration of Abraham Lincoln? The Republican party will insist that this man, who has been tried and never found wanting, shall be continued in the Presidential office, while the country is passing through the trials and difficulties which will beset us during the next four years.

CHARLES HENRY GROSVENOR.

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NOTES ON SPENCER, BUCKLE, AND COMTE.

BY LÉON GAMBETTA.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON "GAMBETTA'S METHODS OF STUDY," BY JOSEPH REINACH, HIS FORMER PRIVATE SECRETARY.

GAMBETTA'S METHODS OF STUDY.

BY JOSEPH REINACH.

GAMBETTA read a great deal, and he read at once rapidly and thoroughly. As his curiosity was general, he devoured with the same avidity works on history and novels, poetry and treatises on philosophy, the magazines and the newspapers. In the days, now long past, when he was chief of the Cabinet and I his private secretary, it was my duty to take to him every morning a résumé of the contents of the newspapers. It was a useless labor. He had already read everything.

Gambetta loved to read aloud, and it was a treat to hear him declaim Rabelais, who was his favorite author, in a voice warm and unctuous, or "The Princess of Clèves," the romance of his choice, in a voice which he suppressed to a more limpid quality.

He had a remarkable memory, and retained nearly all of his prodigious reading. He knew by heart long tirades from Racine, entire chapters from the "Châtiments," and I have known him to recite from beginning to end that remarkable poem from "La Légende des Siècles," "Le Satyre."

For a great while, he always took notes when reading. Later, absorbed in his manifold occupations, he was forced to renounce that excellent practice which doubles the value of reading. But he preserved in one of his portfolios a great number of his notes. They were the ideas which had the most deeply impressed him;

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a careful array of facts for some work he was preparing; detailed analysis of some important question, either historical, philosophical, or political.

Napoleon, in his laborious youth, had employed the same method of study. The Laurentian Library possesses four manuscript volumes of the young Napoleon's notes, as student at Brienne and as sub-lieutenant of artillery. These papers, which came from the Libri collections, were acquired by the Italian Government at the Ashburnham sale. They contain extensive summaries of history, natural history, and geography. The world is familiar with one or two of these notes—for example, the description of the colonial possessions of Great Britain, which ends with the mention, since become tragic, of "St. Hélène, little island." In glancing over these Napoleonic manuscripts at Florence, some months ago, I could not help thinking of Gambetta's notes.

Naturally, there are in Gambetta's notes many reflections on Oratory. From his reading of Cicero's *"De Oratore"* he preserved many extracts. He notes from that book that Zeno compared eloquence to the "open hand," and dialectics "to the firm closed fist"; and that Isocrates was accustomed to repeat, "I know all the roads I ought to travel."

Books on history naturally furnished him with copious material. The veteran Greek scholar Haas had a strong liking for Gambetta, and talked with him of the great writers of Grecian antiquity, and initiated him in Demosthenes. There is many a page among Gambetta's notes which, it is easy to suppose, was inspired by Haas or by one of his lectures.

There are four closely written pages on Greek and Roman history. Here is Gambetta's definition of Thermopylæ: "Passage in the mountains, where, according to Napoleon, Leonidas allowed himself to be mouse-trapped." The episode of the history of the Gracchi appears to have particularly interested him.

I copy a few of his notes on history:

"The countenance of Pitt in the last years of his life was hideous. 'It was his Austerlitz face,' says Wilberforce."

"The Revolution did not create the European alliance against France—that was the bitterest fruit of the imperial policy."

" 'The flames of Moscow and Saragossa were the dawn of Liberty for the world' (Benjamin Constant)."

It is evident that Gambetta only copied, or at least most often

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copied, the thoughts that, corresponding to his own, seemed to him wise and true.

From an article by Prévost-Paradol on Armand Baschet's "History of Venetian Diplomacy" Gambetta copied many pages.

Concerning Mirabeau, Gambetta wrote:

"Mirabeau was so deeply convinced that the Revolution was irrevocable that, as early as 1790, he wrote these words, which to-day seem like an historical prophecy of the Restoration of 1814-15:

" 'I look on all the consequences of the Revolution, and on all that survived the Constitution, as victories so irrevocable that no convulsion—unless the Empire were dismembered—can efface them. I do not even exempt an armed counter-revolution. The realm may be reconquered, but it will always be necessary for the victor to consider public opinion; to assure the welfare of the people; to insure the abolition of abuses; to permit the people to administer the laws and allow them to choose their administrators—that is to say, even after a civil war it will be found necessary to return to a policy which can be administered without agitation.' "

Mirabeau is one of the historical figures whom Gambetta admired most, and, indeed, one who exerted a veritable fascination over him. Long ago, the marked resemblance was pointed out between the great man of the first revolution and the great man of the Third Republic. They had the same oratorical gifts, the same general conception of government, at once sound and liberal, the same taste for diplomacy, and the same views on what a statesman's rôle ought to be in a democracy.

Gambetta's notes on Finance are copious. He had studied Finance and the question of Credit with deep attention during his years of political apprenticeship. We know with what skill and authority he presided over the Budget Committee. That knowledge was not extemporaneous.

He already firmly believed that the financial methods of an absolute monarchy could not be adopted by a constitutional monarchy or republic; that the financing of a republic should be republican in the same sense that all its other institutions are. He copied the entire first chapter of the forty-second book of Montesquieu's "Spirit of the Laws."

There are long notes on Taine. One of the most brilliant chapters in his "History of English Literature" is that in which Taine, approaching the modern era, draws the picture of the changes which the French Revolution wrought in human intelligence: "At the approach of the nineteenth century commences

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in Europe the great modern revolution. The thinking public, the human intelligence undergo a change, and of the two shocks is born a new literature."

There are some interesting notes from an article in the *"Revue des Deux Mondes"* by Auguste Laugel (February 15th, 1864) on Herbert Spencer's "First Principles." Aided by the clear analysis of the French writer, Gambetta penetrated with his fine intelligence into the English philosopher's theory. He extracted the pith from it.

On March 15th, 1868, Louis Etienne published in the *"Revue des Deux Mondes"* an analysis of Thomas Buckle's "History of Civilization in England." This analysis of a masterly work made a deep impression on the young lawyer who later was to defend Delescluze at the Baudin trial. As was the case with the Laugel article, he read that of Etienne pen in hand.

We now come to his notes on the Positive Philosophy.

The world knows with what an outburst Gambetta made his profession of Positivism. Invited, as president of the Chamber, to the fête commemorative of the fiftieth anniversary of the Polytechnical Association, he delivered, in the great amphitheatre of the Sorbonne, one of his most brilliant discourses, in which he hailed Auguste Comte as "the deepest thinker of his century" (December 12th, 1880). He there defined him as "that mind solely occupied with freeing the human brain from gloom and unreality, in order to render thought a pure ingot of gold."

Some years earlier, at a dinner which had been given to Littré, on the occasion of the completion of his dictionary, Gambetta had first declared himself for Positive Philosophy (January 5th, 1873). "There will surely come a day," he had said, "when politics restored to its true rôle—ceasing to be the refuge of the cunning and of intriguers, renouncing treacherous and perfidious trickery, freed from the spirit of corruption, and from all the strategy of double dealing and subterfuges—will become what it ought to be: a moral science, expressive of a complete harmony of interests, of affairs, of morals, imposing itself alike on the conscience and on the mind, and dictating the laws of justice to human society. On that day your name*—ours—will conquer, and your name will be honored among men."

Indeed, I have found among Gambetta's notes a concise ana-

*That of Littré.

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lysis of Auguste Comte's theory, as well as the exceptions taken to it by Stuart Mill* in his book on Positivism. Had Gambetta at that time read or glanced through the treatise of Auguste Comte? I am inclined to think so. Proof is, however, lacking, and the following notes on Comte's system were manifestly written in course of his perusal of Littré's article in the *"Revue des Deux Mondes"* of August 15th, 1866. He followed there, step by step, Littré's refutation, copying, analyzing, and condensing it.† He liked to keep in touch with all subjects, but he lacked the time to pursue them to their original sources. His keen intelligence supplied, however, what was lacking in the necessarily incomplete documentation of the middle man.

JOSEPH REINACH.

NOTES ON SPENCER, BUCKLE, AND COMTE.

BY LÉON GAMBETTA.

I.

Spencer compares the struggle between science and faith to that of the two cavaliers who disputed over the color of a shield, of which each had seen but one side.

The Deist derives creation from a Creator; but how chances it that there was a Creator before creation? If he possesses an individual and independent existence, as the Atheists claim for matter, the two theories lead us to a common conclusion: existence without commencement.

According to Spencer, neither life nor spiritual force can escape from the control of the universal law of the persistence of force. He collects, in support of this theory, all the facts with which biology can furnish him, in order to establish a connection between those forces which we classify as "vital forces" and those which we call "physical." For some time, physiologists have been asking themselves if these two forces may not be identical. One says "yes," the other "no." On either side they are half convinced that these forces, without being absolutely the same, are but different forms of the same thing.

*"Auguste Comte and Positivism," translated into French by Clémenceau (1868).

†Article entitled "Auguste Comte and Stuart Mill, The Positive Philosophy."

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By this theory life would merely be derived from those forces which we already know outside of animated life, its causes—heat, electricity, magnetism, and chemical affinity.

Thought, or rather mental energy, is only another form of vital force. Thus, thought becomes only a movement, more complicated and more mysterious, doubtless, than the other movements that we have known, but allied nevertheless to those movements, as the satellite is allied to the planet or the acid to its base.

The law of evolution is a perpetual eddy.

II.

Buckle's starting point is that the actions of men, however independent or whimsical they may appear, are the result of absolute laws, which, in a certain sense, impel them toward the end to which they irresistibly and blindly tend. To discover what this impulse, in appearance so mysterious, is; to explain this irresistible tendency, is Buckle's aim.

The social progress of England is not due to its religion; on the contrary, the one is in an inverse ratio to the other, a maximum of knowledge corresponding to a minimum of faith.

Buckle dates English civilization from the birth of scepticism in that country.

Scepticism has special characteristics in Protestant countries. It is naturally theological, and one must study its progress in the books of theologians. It was born on the same day with individual intelligence, the first form of free thought. It commenced in the reign of Elizabeth with the struggle between the priests and the Bible.

In the reign of Charles I., theology attacked the Councils. Proofs were demanded. However, the Bible and rationalism disputed at that time with equal confidence.

In the eighteenth century, rationalism rejected everything except the Bible, and distinguished between that which is divine and that which is mortal; between faith and morality; between religion and politics. Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough, wrote a book on the spiritual life independent of revelation.

The results of this move were visible in civilization. With the lessening of faith in the sixteenth century awoke a tolerance of principle, otherwise truth. The concessions which were early

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made to individual intelligence promoted the movement of Free Thought. Literature and philosophy advanced rapidly toward maturity in the seventeenth century—Shakespeare and Bacon, Milton, Newton, Locke—and finally came the Royal Scientific Society, that stronghold of the new thought.

In the eighteenth century came Hume and Gibbon. The new thought broke out everywhere, in newspapers and clubs. In proportion as knowledge spread, belief became more rare.

Self-reliance, a habit of depending on one's self, is the first basis of self-government. Self-government plays the same part in the civilization of England that Buckle attributes to scepticism.

In the present state of knowledge, politics, far from being a science, is the most backward of the arts, and the only line of conduct safe for law-makers is to recognize that the secret of their profession is to make timely concessions to the needs of their epoch. Their duty is to follow their century, not to attempt to lead it.

Positivism in England differs from that of Comte and his disciples chiefly because of its contempt for governmental interference.

Atheists, Secularists, or Idealists, whose ideals are not those of their century, flourish.

III.

Auguste Comte wished to create a philosophy. He called it Positive. Mill denies that he has succeeded, for two reasons: (1.) because Sociology is lacking in it; (2.) because Psychology is omitted from it.

Littré insists (1.) that Sociology is included in it, which is what Philosophy demands; (2.) that Psychology is missing from it without injury to the argument, and that the affinity between Positive Philosophy and Psychology is not what Mill's criticism supposes.

First question: What is Positive Philosophy? It is the conception of the Cosmos which results from a systematic study of the exact sciences. Philosophy itself is the study of the Cosmos, or, in scholastic terms, of the objective world; and in that world man finds his place both as a being and as a social atom.

If, after a broad generalization, one wishes to regard life as an objective whole, man must not be made the central figure of a philosophical system, for that manifestly gives him a false po-

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sition; while, if one argues from a purely psychological standpoint, making man a central point constitutes a false philosophical method.

Philosophy is real, a conception of real things. Logic is formal, a scheme for explaining things.

This is precisely the reason why one cannot arrive at a Positive Philosophy by way of Psychology. It is the actual explanation of life, not the theoretic; the objective, not the subjective; with which Philosophical history concerns itself. Before the formulating of the Positive Philosophy, man's mind had, in the course of its development, evolved two philosophies, the theological and the metaphysical.

In that fact is manifest the folly of considering a philosophy as anything other than a philosophical idea of the world and life, whether it is concerned with the study of man or with the history and theory of logic.

First period: Examples, all religions. Dogma is a real branch of philosophy. The theological conceptions of philosophy are the most ancient forms of broad speculative thought. The theological impulse of intelligence was to believe that the universe was controlled by some divine will.

Second period: Metaphysical Philosophy is also a conception of the world, but it differs from theological both in its origin and its results. It was born of another intellectual movement. The metaphysical tendency of mental development was to believe that all which appeared to be logically true must necessarily be so.

Third period: Positive Philosophy, a new conception of the Cosmos, in which natural laws and not divine will controlled everything. This new system naturally rejected all the theories which had been a part of the old philosophy, and in it everything began and ended in experiment.

This great achievement, which is the work of M. Comte, had always been looked on as impossible, and it was no light task to succeed in it—to divide the world into two parts: that which we know and to which our intelligence is directed by experiment; that which we do not know, and which is closed to our speculation; in short, the knowable and the unknowable. Hence, Theological Philosophy is a system of reasoning in which man acknowledges the control of a divine will over all things. Metaphysical Philosophy is a system of reasoning which sees in the Universe the

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strict materialization of logic. Positive Philosophy is a system of reasoning which interprets the Universe through the Mind.

The essential characteristic of the especial theory of M. Comte consists in his having conceived and built up a philosophy, by selecting from the schemes of different sciences and from the works of deep, scientific thinkers, groups of truths to which he could apply his system. Two operations: (1.) Selection of general facts from each fundamental science; (2.) grouping and arranging these facts: ten fundamental sciences. As the philosophy of a particular science is the arranging of the general facts of that science, it follows that a complete philosophy is the arranging of the different groups obtained by the first operation. This arrangement was determined by the extent of the multiplication of the phenomena, according to the order which Nature herself offers in physical, chemical and biological facts.

This arrangement rests jointly upon the historic order which is consistent with the stages of multiplication, and upon the didactic order by which the mind passes through one stage in order to reach another. Positive Philosophy is based on Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Sociology. Therefore, to determine the superlative facts of human knowledge, to arrange them according to a reasonable method, to deduct from them a rational explanation of the Universe, to formulate a theory sufficiently exact to accord with scientific elements, and general enough to entitle it to a place and value in the whole scheme, that is Positive Philosophy, the achievement of Comte.

Mill's points of attack are Sociology and Psychology. Has M. Comte established a Sociology or not? Mill denies that he has succeeded. That is an important point in the Comte system. Littré insists that Comte has sufficiently shaped a philosophy of that special fundamental science called Sociology, to use it with the same rights as Biology, Chemistry and the other sciences in the construction of Positive Philosophy.

Static Mode, Dynamic Mode: The essential characteristic of the Dynamic Mode is that it springs from an instinctive and primary connection, and is a general and not an individual attribute. It is by it that one distinguishes between the super-organic and the organic. Take note of this, for it is the essential difference between Sociology and Biology. It is the Dynamic Mode alone which opens a new field to science; the Static Mode

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would not suffice, for, being elementary, it would fall back into Biology; complicated and an important part of Sociology, it is subordinated to the historical development.

The historical development belongs to what I have named "the residue"—residue of which the subordinate science (here it is Biology) does not take account, but which forms the base of superlative science when a genius awakes to utilize it. M. Comte was that genius for the science of Sociology.

History is the first part of Sociology. Statics is only a secondary part. Political economy is but one part of Statics.

The historical theory of doubt consists of three degrees of social development: the theological stage, the metaphysical stage, and the positive stage.

Sociology proves that the faculty of believing according to a fashion is inherent in Society, although up to that time it had been attributed to other causes than society itself. Sociologically, and in the order of the branches of science, the dynamic mode has the advantage over the static, in that it determines the changes from which Sociology is born, and which are studied in that science. Philosophically, then, it is not important that the secondary part (Political Economy) be elaborated, but that the first part be so organized as to establish a Positive Philosophy, which is the scheme in hand.

Therefore, Mill was wrong to reproach Comte with having neglected Political Economy and overlooked the constitution of the science of Sociology.

To sum up: Littré has pointed out three flaws in Mill's criticism—(1.) that he did not recognize the inequality between the dynamic mode and the static, which implies that he did not see the organization of Sociology clearly; (2.) that he sought in Comte for sociological physiology, rather than for the first cause to which sociological physiology is subordinated; (3.) that he lost sight of M. Comte's purpose, in which the constitution of sociology is only a means of arriving at the constitution of Positive Philosophy, which is the end at which he aimed.

LÉON GAMBETTA.

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LORD PLAYFAIR.

BY M. W. HAZELTINE.

If any man in our time has satisfied the Emersonian definition of genius, "a capacity for hard work," it was Lyon Playfair, and if any Englishman has earned a peerage by services, not less important because pacific, it was he. That is a conviction planted in all those who have been in a position to follow his career, and it will be shared by the readers of the memoir of Lord Playfair which has been recently compiled by Mr. Wemyss Reid, and published by the Harpers. The biographer, however, not only sets forth the story of a great worker who labored for unselfish ends, but also enables us to realize the fact that the subject of the narrative was a man of rare social and personal gifts, before whose address and tact difficulties that to others might have proved insurmountable, seemed to melt away. His was a useful and distinguished life, not only in its scientific, but also in its political and international aspects, and from the latter view-points his high character, his genial temperament and his social attractiveness no doubt counted for much, but his successes as a member of Parliament, as a Minister and as an unofficial diplomatist ought not to obscure the specific quality of his intellect, or the prevailing trend of the achievements by which he will be longest remembered. He was, primarily, a student of science, and especially those branches of applied science which deal with the economic conditions of life. That is why Playfair's name is inseparably associated with the vast sanitary improvements which have taken place in England during the last thirty years, and with the evolution of the whole system of scientific and technical instruction. His is an unchallenged place of honor in the history of the social and economical progress of his country.

It is the fashion for biographers to devote considerable space to

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an account of their subject's ancestry; more space, perhaps, than Dr. Weismann would approve of. Representatives of the Playfair family have more than once reached eminence in the course of the last three centuries. In 1596, Thomas Playfair was made D.D. and Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, and Professor Playfair, of Edinburgh University, was one of the most famous of English mathematicians in the last quarter of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the present century. Professor Playfair was remembered in the United States down to our own day. In 1877, Lord Playfair, being at a house on the Hudson which possessed a telephone, used the instrument to communicate with the Professor of Mathematics at West Point. The latter desired to know who was addressing him, and, receiving the answer, "Playfair," rejoined, "Oh, I know all about you! I learned my first mathematics out of your 'Euclid.'" Lord Playfair disclaimed, with modesty, the authorship of the book, explaining that it had appeared in the last century. His unknown conversationalist replied, "Your voice is so squeaky, I thought you must be a hundred years old!" Lord Playfair's grandfather was appointed Principal of the University of St. Andrews in 1800. His wife's maiden name was Lyon; she belonged to the Lyons of Glen Ogle, who form a collateral branch of the Lyons of Glamis, now possessing the title of Earl of Strathmore. Principal Playfair's eldest son, the father of the subject of Mr. Reid's biography, became a physician, entered the service of the East India Company, and rose to the highest medical position in it, that of member of the Medical Board in Calcutta. He had, we are told, all the simplicity and kindness of Colonel Newcome, in Thackeray's novel, and his son could never think of him without this association in his mind. Dr. Playfair had married a daughter of John Ross, Esq., of Edinburgh. She was a woman of uncommon abilities, which were cultivated by extensive reading; her son testifies that to her he owes much more of the early knowledge he acquired than he was able to gain from the grammar or classical school to which he was eventually sent.

I.

Lyon Playfair was born at Chunar, Bengal, May 21, 1818. As early as 1820 he seems to have been sent with an elder brother from India to St. Andrews, there to remain under the care of an

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aunt. Six years later, his mother returned from India to superintend the education of her family. In this task she was assisted by a governess who had a strong Scotch pronunciation, and who not infrequently put her accents on the wrong syllables. Lord Playfair notes in an autobiographical sketch that, throughout his life, he would sometimes astonish an audience by a distinctly false quantity. At the age of six, the boy Lyon had been sent to an excellent parish school, from which, unfortunately, he was removed too soon to the old grammar school of the City of St. Andrews. Of the latter institution he says: "I know that I lost much of my former knowledge, and that my Latin, when I entered the university, was of the most miserable description." When, at the age of fourteen, he was enrolled as a "Bejant," or first year's student, in the University of St. Andrews, he scarcely knew the Greek alphabet, and he tells us that, "I never learned sufficient to make Greek authors a pleasure to me in their own language." Mathematics, on the other hand, pleased him greatly, and, whenever he could do so, he listened to the lectures in the class of chemistry and natural philosophy. After leaving St. Andrews, he entered upon a course of study for medicine in the Andersonian College, Glasgow, and, presently, carried off the first prize in the chemistry class. Among his fellow students at this college were Livingstone, the great African traveller, and James Young, the founder of the paraffin and paraffin oil industry. After spending two years in Glasgow, young Playfair went to complete his studies in the University of Edinburgh, but became ill, was ordered to discontinue his professional work, and to look to India for a career. He reached Calcutta and entered a mercantile house, but several of the scientific men in the Bengal capital, whose acquaintance he gradually made, wrote to his father, urging him to send the young man back to Europe to complete his chemical studies. In compliance with their advice, his father, who was then in the Upper Provinces, sent his son back to London to join the distinguished chemist, Professor Graham, who had been at Glasgow, but was now at University College in the British metropolis. After remaining with Graham for about a year, Playfair went to Giessen in Germany to study under Liebig, the founder of organic chemistry, who, at that time, had the best laboratory in Europe. At Giessen, where he took the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the young Englishman made several notable discoveries, and was in-

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vited by Liebig to translate into English his great book on agricultural chemistry. There is no doubt that his association with Liebig was a turning point in Playfair's life; it brought him, while still a youth, into contact with the first chemist of his day, and gave him a position in the scientific world which his own work and abilities, remarkable though both were, could not have secured for him so quickly. Returning to England in 1841, he became chemical manager of a large print works near Clitheroe, and, while thus engaged, he was made Honorary Professor of Chemistry in the Royal Institution of Manchester. In 1842, the Professorship of Chemistry in the University of Toronto was offered to him, but he was dissuaded from accepting it by no less a man than Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, who took the unusual step of promising to provide for him in England. The incident demonstrates that Playfair, although only twenty-four years old, was already regarded by many leading scientists as the most promising among the younger students of his day. The first Government appointment which Playfair received in pursuance of the promise mentioned was the post of member of the Royal Commission to inquire into the health of towns. The work of this memorable commission, upon which he entered with great energy in 1843, marked the real beginning of sanitary science in the United Kingdom. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, when this commission commenced operations, every English town was but little better than a vast cess-pool, while, before its recommendations had been fully carried out, the towns in England had become practically what they are to-day. From 1843 until the end of his life, Lyon Playfair was absorbed in the question of sanitary improvement, and, before long, he was the recognized leader of national enterprises for the amelioration of the public health. The duties undertaken by Playfair in connection with the Royal Commission did not, however, prevent him from prosecuting chemical inquiries in a laboratory connected with the Museum of Economic Geology at Craig's Court, an institution with which he was long associated. In 1845, Playfair visited Ireland at Sir Robert Peel's request, and made a report to the Prime Minister on the potato rot and the imminence of famine. His prediction that the population of Ireland would be more than decimated unless all the ports were opened for the admission of grain at a small duty, was sadly fulfilled.

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II.

From 1847 to 1849, Playfair's life was that of a Professor in the Royal School of Mines, though, even in these years, the Government required his services on Royal Commissions. In 1848, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. We may mention that, at this period, he eked out a small income by writing leaders for various newspapers, particularly the *Daily News,* the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Athenaeum.* It was in 1850 that he entered definitely upon what was to be the chief employment of his life. Up to this point, his labors were principally confined to his own special branch of study, and it was as a man of science only that he was known to the public. In the year just named, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition, who have been described as the "good fairies" that secured for English industry and English art the position which they now hold in the world. From 1850 down to 1895, Playfair was constantly associated with the labors inaugurated by this important body. More than almost any other man, he represented its spirit and forwarded its aims. The work accomplished by him in the development of the national institutions for practical teaching, which have revolutionized the English system of technical instruction, may be regarded as, upon the whole, the most useful of all the tasks to which Playfair devoted his superabundant energy and unique talent. In his new position as a member of the Commission for the Exhibition, he was brought into close contact with the Prince Consort, with Lord Granville, then President of the Board of Trade, and with many eminent politicians of both parties. He emerged, in short, from the relative obscurity of a man of science occupied in the details of a public department, and came into the full blaze of light that beats upon men actively engaged in national affairs of the widest interest. It is well known that the Great Exhibition of 1851 was a pecuniary success, and that the surplus was about £180,000. The sum, which, by the Prince Consort's advice, was wisely invested in land in South Kensington, has increased enormously in value. This land was vested in the Commissioners, who had carried out the Exhibition, and they allotted sites upon it to numerous public buildings. Upon the land in question are built large galleries for museums and pictures, and, conspicuously, such well-known institutions as the South Kensington

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Museum, the Natural History Museum, the Government Schools of Science and Art, the Royal Albert Hall, the Royal College of Music, the Imperial Institute, the Alexandra Home for Female Students, the City and Guilds of London Institute and the School of Art Needlework. When the Exhibition closed, the Government offered Dr. Playfair a knighthood, or the Companionship of the Bath. He selected the latter. The French Government offered to make him Officer of the Legion of Honor, but this distinction he at the time declined as being in the employment of the English Government. On the other hand, he accepted the office of Gentleman Usher in the Prince Consort's household, a post which brought him into intimate association with Prince Albert in many works undertaken for the promotion of education, science and art. Especially did the organization of the Royal College of Science fall heavily upon Playfair's shoulders. Under the Prince Consort, he may be said to have been the father of the Science Department, and to have thus given form and substance to that part of the new educational scheme which was specially related to the establishment of a national scheme of scientific instruction. It was Playfair's happy lot not only to continue his connection with the Royal College of Science for more than forty years, but, at a date long subsequent to the date of its foundation, to rescue the college from the state of depression into which it had fallen, and thus to save it from a crisis which threatened its existence. It was while he was occupied in the preliminary labors of the Exhibition Commissioners that Dr. Playfair was unanimously elected a member of the Athenæum Club.

III.

In the year 1858, Playfair entered his fortieth year. Nearly half his days had been spent in England, and he had compressed into that comparatively short period an amount of work which it is given to comparatively few men to accomplish in a life-time. He had advanced from obscurity to fame, and had become the personal friend and trusted adviser of many of the greatest in the land. He had secured most of the honors which are recognized in Great Britain as the rewards of scientific eminence, and he had been the instrument by which the great revolution in the British sanitary system had been achieved. He had gained, moreover, a niche of his own in the cosmopolitan society of London. Everybody, who

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knew him at all, knew that a dinner table was made the brighter by the presence of a man who bore a vast load of learning lightly as a flower, and who not only possessed a great store of knowledge, but had the art of imparting it in the easiest and pleasantest fashion. It seemed to his friends that his place in life was now definitely fixed, and that he would remain upon the great metropolitan stage a distinguished public servant, whose talents and energies would continue to be devoted to that branch of national work which lies outside the range of party politics. As a matter of fact, Lyon Playfair's original passion for scientific research had never left him. He looked back with yearning to the days when he had been a student in the laboratory at Edinburgh, and had made the original investigations which first secured for him the good will of Liebig. Thus it came to pass that, in the year 1858, he returned to the Scotland which he had left as a boy, in order to accept the post of Professor of Chemistry in Edinburgh University. Although, however, for some years ensuing, he pursued a quiet academic life in Edinburgh, the Government did not forget his capacity for public usefulness. He was appointed, for instance, President of a Royal Commission to report on the herring fishery, and, in 1862, he was invited to take charge of the administration of awards at the Second International Exhibition, and to appoint the jurors. At the close of the Exhibition, he received various honors from foreign sovereigns; from Austria, the decoration of Commander of Francis Joseph; from Sweden, that of the Polar Star; from Portugal, the Order of the Conception; and from Würtemberg, another decoration. In 1865, he served on a Royal Commission appointed for the purpose of devising means for arresting the cattle plague, and, although his recommendations provoked, at first, a good deal of odium, they were subsequently adopted. It was while the Prince of Wales was living in Edinburgh, as Playfair's pupil in the application of science to industry, that an interesting incident occurred. The two were standing near a cauldron containing lead which was boiling at white heat. "Has your Royal Highness," asked Playfair, "any faith in science?" "Certainly," was the reply. Playfair then carefully washed the Prince's hands with ammonia to get rid of any grease that might be on them. "Will you now place your hand in this boiling metal and ladle out a portion of it?" said Playfair. "Do you tell me to do this?" asked the

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Prince. "I do," was the answer. The Prince instantly put his hand into the cauldron and ladled out some of the boiling lead without sustaining any injury. It is a well-known scientific fact that the human hand, if perfectly cleaned, may be placed uninjured in lead boiling at white heat, the moisture of the skin protecting it, under these conditions, from any injury. Should the lead be at a temperature perceptibly lower, the effect would be, of course, very different.

IV.

When Playfair became Professor of Chemistry at Edinburgh, it was in the belief that the remainder of his days would be given to scientific work. In 1868, however, he entered upon a new career. He was, at this time, anxious that the second Reform bill, then passing through Parliament, should provide for the representation of the Scotch universities, and his wishes were gratified. The new Reform act allotted two members to the Scotch universities; one to Edinburgh and St. Andrews united, and the other to Glasgow and Aberdeen. It was suggested to Playfair that he should become a candidate for Edinburgh and St. Andrews; after some hesitation, he consented, and he was elected. For many years thereafter he continued, although himself a convinced Liberal, to represent a constituency essentially Conservative. He was to be chiefly known, however, to the House of Commons and to the world in connection with questions of social reform, and was but little involved in partisan controversies. In his reminiscences he explains to how large an extent he long stood aside from party politics in Parliament, but, in justice to him, it should be noted that he was far too honest to conceal his political opinions. Playfair's first speech in the House of Commons was in favor of the abolition of religious tests in the English universities. In 1870, he urged the adoption of open halfpenny letters, now known as post cards, and in the same year he vigorously supported W. E. Forster's great measure for a national system of education in England. In 1873, he became Postmaster-General, and held the office until the accession of Mr. Disraeli to power in the following year. By the new Government he was appointed President of a Civil Service Commission which framed a system since officially known as the "Playfair Scheme." About the same time, he introduced a bill to regulate experiments on living

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animals, so that no operation involving pain should be made without an anæsthetic. The Disraeli Government adopted the proposal with slight modifications, and it became law. In 1876 Playfair was a member of the Royal Commission issued to recommend reforms in the Scotch universities. He was largely instrumental in the foundation of the Chair of Geology at Edinburgh.

In the autumn of 1877, Dr. Playfair visited for the first time the United States. This visit marked the beginning of a new epoch in his personal life. Not only did it lead to his marriage with Miss Edith Russell, who survives him, but it opened up for him a host of pleasant friendships on the western side of the Atlantic, and secured for him a position of influence in the United States enjoyed by few of his contemporaries among English public men. During his later years, his visits to America became annual events, and he quickly learned to appreciate American institutions, without losing, however, any of his patriotic devotion to his native land. To the study of American politics he brought a close and sympathetic attention, and, in due time, as we shall see, it was his lot to render a great service to both Great Britain and the United States under circumstances of exceptional gravity. We should here observe that Playfair's marriage to Miss Russell provided him with a companion who shared all his enthusiasms, and who not only encouraged but aided him in his public ambition. From this time forth, he went out more into society, entertained more largely in his own house, and, while as unremitting as ever in his devotion to public work, became gradually more and more of a figure in the social, as well as the political and scientific, life of London.

When Mr. Gladstone resumed office in 1880, he expressed a wish that Dr. Playfair should become Patronage Secretary of the Treasury, an office the duties of which are better known by the conventional phrase of "First Whip." Not deeming himself adapted to discharge the functions of this post, Dr. Playfair declined it, and accepted, instead, the office of "Chairman and Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons," who presides technically over "Ways and Means," but also over the whole House, after a bill has passed the second reading and goes into the committee stage. The repressive measures which, in the capacity of Chairman, he was constrained to take against the obstruction offered by Mr. Parnell's friends were so disagreeable to Dr. Playfair that,

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early in 1883, he resigned the office. It was at this time that the Queen appointed him a Knight Commander of the Bath. It was at his suggestion that the same mark of honor was conferred on Professor Richard Owen in 1884.

V.

When, in 1886, Mr. Gladstone, breaking away from the policy of a lifetime, resolved to attempt to settle the great question of Ireland in the interests of the United Kingdom as a whole, he drew with him on his perilous path many men of eminence and high principle, though he had to part from some of those who had been his most faithful colleagues. Playfair was one of the men who, in that grave crisis, stood by the veteran Prime Minister. Having retired from the representation of Edinburgh, he stood forth in 1885 as the Liberal candidate for South Leeds, a most Radical constituency, and achieved a brilliant victory. Upon the formation of Mr. Gladstone's penultimate Ministry, Playfair accepted the post of Vice-President of the Council, an office in reality equivalent to that of Minister of Education. During his six months' tenure of office, only one important bill became law, that, namely, for the organization of the medical profession which Playfair contrived to carry. At the next general election in July, 1886, Playfair was again returned for South Leeds, though by a somewhat diminished majority. The year 1887, that of the Queen's first Jubilee, put a load of labor upon him in his position of Deputy Chairman of the Commissioners of the Great Exhibition, and he was, at the same time, employed on a Royal Commission which had been appointed to inquire into the state of the endowed schools. Although nearly seventy years of age, he was still active as ever in promoting the cause of scientific and technical education in different parts of Great Britain. On October 31 in the same year, Playfair, at the head of a deputation of members of Parliament, presented to President Cleveland a memorial in favor of a treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and the United States. We should next observe that when, in 1892, Mr. Gladstone returned for the last time to office, Playfair felt relieved to learn that, on account of his advanced age, he would not be called upon to undergo the fatigue inseparable from the work of a Cabinet Minister. He accepted a peerage, however, selecting the title of "Baron Playfair, of St. Andrews." In that ancient city, his

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ancestors had lived for several generations, and his father, mother and uncles, as well as his grandparents, are buried in the churchyard of the ruined cathedral. The authorities of the city and University expressed their satisfaction that Lord Playfair had associated St. Andrews with his barony.

It was in January, 1896, when he was in his seventy-eighth year, that Lord Playfair was able to render a last important service to his country. We refer to the part he played at the time when President Cleveland's message with regard to Venezuela brought Great Britain and the United States into dangerous antagonism. It was Lord Playfair, who, after a conversation with the Colonial Secretary, handed to the American Ambassador a memorandum which might furnish the basis of an equitable agreement between the two countries. The memorandum outlined the settlement which was eventually reached, though some time elapsed before negotiations culminated in the agreement to submit the Venezuela boundary to arbitration. No man who had any part in averting the catastrophe, which for a time was threatened, could fail to feel proud of his share in the work, and Lord Playfair during the brief remainder of his life was glad to know that his own efforts had in this respect been useful, not only to his fellow countrymen, but to the people of a country with which he had become connected by an endearing tie.

A close student of the branch of science which deals with the economic conditions of life, Playfair was a watchful observer of the startling developments which these conditions underwent. To the new order of things he sought to apply the old economic truths, and it was repeatedly his good fortune to draw the right economic lessons from the new conditions of human life with which he was brought in contact. Few men of our time have done more than he did to show the bearing of new industrial facts and of fresh scientific discoveries upon the old laws of supply and demand. A philosopher among politicians, and a politician among philosophers, he was to achieve more than one memorable success in applied science and in politics, and he was to attain, at last, the honor of being one of the few men who, at a moment when the two branches of the English-speaking race seemed drifting toward ruinous collision, were able to intervene and avert a disaster that might have wrecked the cause of human liberty.

M. W. HAZELTINE.

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OCEAN TRANSPORTATION TO EASTERN ASIA.

BY EUGENE T. CHAMBERLAIN, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF NAVIGATION.

The commercial aspirations of the United States, in so far as they have any geographical bent, are unquestionably turned to-day across the Pacific to the markets of the temperate zone of Eastern Asia. The more far-sighted of our public leaders, including the great projectors of industrial and transportation enterprises quite as much as the leaders of parties, and the most intelligent of our newspapers, for several years sought to impress upon our people the fact that a commercial struggle, not without its political phases, was in progress for the control of, or for a large participation in, the new markets of the ancient Empire of China, and that we could not afford to be indifferent to it. These efforts had possibly made some headway, though the evidence of progress certainly did not appear on the surface of American thought. What was needed was an awakening of sentiment such as would make the coast of Asia a real thing to the American mechanic, farmer and miner, a thing, that is to say, in which he had an immediate interest; and that was effected by our naval victory at Manila. The map of Asia and of the Pacific has been studied nowhere else so carefully during the past year, by the millions to whom in all civilized countries industrial and commercial growth means livelihood and comfort, as on the farms and in the factories and stores and offices of the United States.

The relative accessibility of the markets of Asia from the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts of Europe and from the Pacific coast of the United States depends, of course, as much on facilities of transportation as on distance. What the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 did for Europe in improving transportation facilities to the East is familiar to every one; in a word, it permitted

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economical communication by steamships. We are not all, perhaps, so familiar with the possibilities which the employment of steel in the construction of the hulls of merchant steamships, begun in 1879, has opened to the United States in its trans-Pacific trade.

The distance by way of the Suez Canal from Marseilles to Hongkong is 7,903 nautical miles, to Manila 7,906 miles, to Shanghai 8,758 miles, and to Yokohama 9,476 miles. The direct distance from San Francisco to Hongkong is 6,086 miles, to Manila 6,254 miles, to Shanghai 5,550 miles, and to Yokohama 4,564 miles. The advantage of our Pacific coast ports, in respect of distance, over Mediterranean ports is evident. The advantage, of course, increases in contrast with the Atlantic ports of Great Britain, Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. Distance, however, is not alone to be considered. To make that difference in distance tell in their favor, steamships from our Pacific coast must carry coal for the entire voyage across the Pacific, with a corresponding increase in expense and reduction in the space which can be devoted to earning freight money, while the Suez route offers several opportunities for re-coaling, and in consequence permits the employment of more space for freight-earning cargo. A digression from the direct route to Honolulu means a loss of from 400 to 1,000 miles to the steamship bound from San Francisco to Eastern Asia.

The use of steel in the construction of hulls has made it possible to build steamships so large that they can carry the 3,000 tons of coal, or thereabouts, necessary to traverse at full speed the 6,000 miles which separate our coasts from China. (The great importance of the triple expansion engine in reducing coal consumption is not overlooked, but its relations to the Pacific problem do not call for remark here.) The great inventors of modern steel processes have thus done as much for the trans-Pacific commerce of the United States as de Lesseps did for Europe's trade with the Orient.

The increase in the speed of ocean steamships during the past decade has not been so great as to excite well-founded wonder; it has not been very generally distributed, and at best it is not of prime commercial importance. The real marvel of the past ten years, and the substantial contribution which shipbuilding has recently made to the world's commerce, has been the increase in the

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size of ships. In 1892, Lloyd's Register recorded 173 steel vessels and 93 iron vessels, 266 in all, of 4,000 gross tons or upwards. Lloyd's Register for 1900 shows 69 iron vessels and 743 steel vessels, 812 in all, of 4,000 gross tons or upwards. Eight steel steamships of over 8,000 gross tons were recorded in 1892, while for this year 64 such steamships are named. A steamship of less than 4,000 gross tons will soon prove a commercial impracticability for our trans-Pacific trade.

The appearance of large steel steamships in the trade directly across the Pacific will in time revolutionize the relations of the commercial, manufacturing and agricultural world to the uncounted millions of Asia. If the opportunity is promptly seized by the United States, the changed conditions may be made almost immediately the source of enormous addition to our national wealth. In the competition between the Suez route and the direct route across the Pacific, Europe will be handicapped by the canal tolls, which average over one dollar and a half per net ton (Moorsom)—equivalent to nearly a dollar a ton of cargo, both going and coming, in the case of a full-laden ship, and more, of course, if the vessel is laden only in part. To offset this extra charge levied on freight, Europe, however, enjoys the advantages of cheaper ships and lower cost of operation for its merchant fleets. These two considerations are disputed occasionally by those who have not taken the slight trouble required to ascertain the facts, but the facts are not equivocal or ambiguous. The appearance of large steamships on the Pacific opens the way also for fast steamships; and here, too, because of the shorter distances of the direct route, the United States have the advantage of nations which must use the Suez Canal.

The commercial importance of the new conditions of ocean transportation to Eastern Asia seems to have been more fully and more quickly realized by foreign countries than by the United States, which in all its interests ought to be the greatest beneficiary of the new order of things. While we are, many of us, chopping over academic theories and discarded or inopportune policies, other nations are contriving to make the best for themselves out of the situation. The German cabinet report which announced to the Reichstag the purchase of the Carolines and the Ladrones (except Guam) was accompanied by a chart showing the new lines by which the North German Lloyd Steamship Com-

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pany proposed to bind these islands, whose purchase at that time had not been ratified, to other German possessions in Asia! On the other hand, while we have held the Philippines for many months, while for months Europe and Asia have been guessing about our commercial policy, here at home some men are still debating whether it will be "worth while" to establish American transportation lines to the East!

The first nation to make practical use of the new conditions on the Pacific was Japan, which for some time has had in operation to the United States seventeen-knot steamships of 6,000 gross tons, the largest and fastest vessels now employed on the Pacific Ocean, exceeding in size and speed the Canadian Pacific's "Empress" steamships, which Great Britain, in anticipation of the future, now become present, began to subsidize in 1892.

The beginnings only have been made in actual development of the direct Pacific route to Asia, with the Pacific coast of North America as a basis. Europe has been preparing, however, for the competition for several years. In 1895, France renewed and extended her subsidies to the Messageries Maritimes Steamship Company; in 1897, Great Britain renewed her subsidies to the Peninsular & Oriental Steamship Company; and, in 1898, Germany renewed and extended her subsidies to the North German Lloyd Steamship Company. The nature of these subsidies has been entirely changed by the considerations hastily noted. They are no longer contracts for the quickest performance of a public service, the transmission of the mails, because the quickest route to Eastern Asia from London, Paris, Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Rome, Trieste, Vienna and Marseilles is not now by the Suez Canal, but across the Atlantic, across the North American Continent by rail, and thence across the Pacific to Yokohama, Shanghai, Kiaochao, Hongkong and Manila. The best time now possible from the capitals of Europe to Shanghai by the Suez route is thirty-two days. The Berlin mails reach New York in nine days, the Paris mails in eight, and the London mails in about seven. The New York mails reach San Francisco in four days and three hours. Seventeen-knot steamships can cross from San Francisco to Shanghai in sixteen days, allowing for the change of time in mid-Pacific, which is a loss for westward but a corresponding gain for eastward mails. The ocean mail and passenger lines to Asia, which Europe now subsidizes with about $4,500,000

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a year, are slower on the average, taking voyages both ways, by five days, than the lines which the United States must within two or three years establish across the Pacific. They are slower than connections to-day possible, though not established, through Japanese steamships, also subsidized, which now enter our Pacific coast ports. These foreign mail contracts have thus become national agencies for the promotion of commerce, as they always were, though to a much less degree; and where they are coupled, as they always are by implication, if not in direct terms, with the requirement that the steamships filling the contracts shall be built by the nation which grants the subsidy, they are also agencies to promote national shipbuilding and national navigation.

A legislative proposition which has for one of its principal objects the establishment, as soon as practicable, of the best and greatest facilities for transportation between the United States and Asia is entitled to the careful consideration of every American. It is of as much importance to the cotton States of the South and the wheat and corn belts of the Northwest as it is to our seaboard constituencies. The mining regions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, West Virginia and the Great Lakes, and the factories of New York, New Jersey, New England and the Central States are as directly concerned in it as are the commercial exchanges of our large cities.

Of the 5,390 clearances of steamships from this country for Europe in 1899, only 39 were under the American flag. Too much intelligence, industry and money have been expended by foreign companies and governments in establishing their shipping interests in the North Atlantic to render possible a speedy recovery by the United States of its former rank in that branch of ocean carrying. But the trade of the Pacific is relatively undeveloped. During 1899, there were only 185 clearances of merchant steamships from this country for all of Asia, of which, however, only 24, two a month, were American. There must be an increase in our transportation facilities very soon, as, for more than a year, the complaint has been made, all along the Pacific coast, that there is a lack of tonnage to carry cargoes of cotton, flour and lumber to China and Japan, and that in consequence our exports have been handicapped by heavy freight charges. Is this lack of tonnage on the Pacific to be supplied by American vessels, or do we purpose at the outset voluntarily to abandon the carrying trade of the Pacific to our foreign rivals, who have already acquired

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control of the trans-Atlantic trade? The ocean-carrying trade of a nation is as much a national industry as any manufacturing process. It has a higher claim to national consideration than any other industry. To Great Britain it brings yearly an addition to national wealth estimated by her best statisticians at $380,000,000. The carrying trade of the United States at this time is worth about $175,000,000 to those who conduct it. What the Pacific carrying trade will be worth to the United States ten years hence is purely conjectural. Our exports and imports to and from Japan and China alone, for 1897, were valued at $70,000,000. In ocean freights and passenger fares the carrying of this trade, as indicated by the report of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, was valued at about $8,000,000. The total exports and imports of China and Japan, in 1899, were in round numbers $475,000,000, of which the share of the United States was $77,000,000. One is at liberty to make his own guess as to what the carrying of that trade brought to ocean vessels two years ago, and what, with its certain increase, it will bring in ten years hence to the nations whose ships transport it.

It is no disparagement of the ultimate utility of the Nicaragua Canal to assert that, to the present generations of Americans, the improvement of trans-Pacific transportation facilities is of much greater importance, and that the enduring interests at least of the grain-growing sections of the Northwest are more closely identified with the latter than with the former undertaking. The Nicaragua Canal undoubtedly should and will be constructed as an American enterprise, but it cannot thereby lose its international character. While our political interest in it will, from the beginning, doubtless be supreme, our commercial interests, at least for many years to come, from the very nature of things, will not be appreciably greater than those of Great Britain, to-day the world's ocean carrier. The construction of the Canal by the Government of the United States will be a material gift to all mankind, worthy of a great republic. The creation of an American mercantile marine on the Pacific is essentially a national proposition, involving the development of American strength, industrial, political and naval.

EUGENE TYLER CHAMBERLAIN.

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THE PROJECTED CABLE-LINE TO THE PHILIPPINES.

BY CHANDLER HALE.

For the last thirty years Congress has from time to time had under consideration the establishment of a trans-Pacific submarine cable. Until recently this plan has never been more than in embryo. But with the rebirth of an Isthmian Canal, as essential to communication between the East and the West, owing to the expansion of commerce, together with our recent acquisition of the Philippines, the Hawaiian group and other islands in the Pacific, the establishment of such a cable in the near future is now rendered imperative. The only questions in doubt are whether the cable should be owned by the Government or by a private company, and whether the route should be by Hawaii, Midway and Guam to Dingala Bay, or by Alaska, Japan, the Loo-Choo Islands and Luzon.

From a technical and engineering point of view, the practicability of a trans-Pacific submarine cable is assured, the Government survey of the route which would connect California and the Philippines, by the Hawaiian Islands, Midway and Guam, showing no obstacles which may not be avoided in laying the cable. More than thirty years ago the idea of a trans-Pacific cable was broached by Cyrus W. Field, but it came to nothing, as the need of such a cable was not then felt. Ocean cabling being in its infancy, and business with the East being at that time limited, the magnitude and cost of the enterprise, together with the grave doubt that was felt as to the probability of successfully laying the cable, frightened capital away from the enterprise. Now, however, after thirty-four years of experience, the practicability of deep-sea cable laying is well established.

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The first Atlantic cable, laid in 1858, proved a failure, but in 1866 the attempt was again made and proved successful. Since then sixteen cables have been laid across the Atlantic, four of which are now abandoned. The cable rates in 1866 were ten dollars per word, but this has gradually been reduced to the present rate of twenty-five cents.

The advantages accruing to international commerce from a submarine telegraphic service have been incalculable. In fact, there could be no greater blow to the business of the country than the sudden interruption of all such communication between the United States and Europe.

Such being the case, and since our Government has recently acquired, either by annexation or conquest, new possessions in the Pacific, it seems necessary to create means of communicating with these colonies in the quickest, most direct and most certain manner.

As at present situated, the Government at Washington can communicate with Manila only in the most roundabout way, and its communications are at any point subject to foreign interference. The existing route of cablegrams from Washington to Manila is as follows: To New York by land; to Valentia, Ireland, by cable; to Brighton, England, by cable and land; to Havre, France, by cable; to Marseilles, by land; to Alexandria, Egypt, by cable; to Suez, Egypt, by land; to Aden, Arabia, by cable; to Bombay, India, by cable; to Madras, by land; to Singapore, Malayan Peninsula, by cable; to Saigon, Cochin China, by cable; to Hongkong, by cable; to Manila, Philippine Islands, by cable—the distance being 14,000 miles and the number of transmissions fourteen. And for this communication the Government is now paying about $400,000 annually for its own messages.

It seems assured that we are henceforth to be permanently and vitally associated with the East; and it would be foolish for us, therefore, to rest satisfied with the means of communication with that part of the world which we are now compelled to employ, when better are at hand, only waiting to be developed. An American cable, whether of Government or private ownership, is now an absolute necessity. The latter would be preferable, though in time of war it should be subject to Government control; as, in general, commercial undertakings should be carried out whenever possible by private enterprise. Cable ownership by the Govern-

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ment works out in theory far better than in practice. A cable owned by a Government is necessarily restricted to that Government's possessions, as no Government would permit cables belonging to a foreign Government to land on its shores; otherwise, in time of war, serious international complications might and would arise. All concessions granted by a Government to foreigners involving permission to land upon its shores and do business within its domain make it a *sine qua non* that such foreigners in availing themselves of that privilege shall submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the country which grants the concession.

Take the proposed southern route from San Francisco to Manila, by way of Honolulu, Midway Island and Guam. If it should be owned by the Government, no branch line from Guam to Japan would be possible, because Japan as a nation would not consent to the United States as a nation establishing a cable on the Japanese coast. Nor would such a cable secure any of the business west of Manila. The private cable lines from that point onward could well arrange rates so as to retain all their present business, leaving for the Government line nothing but the business of the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, which annually would not amount to more than $150,000.

The following estimate shows that the cost of such a duplicate trans-Pacific cable system to Manila and to Japan would be at least $25,000,000:

COST.

9,285 knots cable, including 10 per cent. slack	$11,583,030
500 knots spare cable	623,750
2 cable ships ($300,000 each)	600,000
2 sets cable gear	250,000
6 stations	180,000
Duplex instruments, battery, etc.	60,000
Spare instruments	30,000
Travelling expenses, freight, etc.	100,000
Contingent fund	250,000
Duplicate cable	11,583,030
Total	$25,259,810

ANNUAL EXPENSE.

Interest at 3 per cent. on $25,259,810	$757,794
Maintenance and coal supply of two ships	250,000
Operating and travelling expenses	175,000
Repair and renewal fund	400,000
Total	$1,582,794

Without the branch line from Guam to Japan, the cost would be about four million dollars less, or $21,259,810.

On this great investment the receipts of the Government would probably only amount to $550,000—that is, the saving of the

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$400,000 which is being paid at present in cabling to Manila, and $150,000 which is estimated to be the commercial cable business of the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands. Thus, from the above estimate of annual expenses and receipts, it will be seen that the Government deficit each year upon its line would exceed double the present cost of its communications to the East.

Hence, the branch line from Guam to Japan, which would largely increase the business of the whole line, by entering into competition with the Indian cables, is necessary from a business point of view to a profitable American line on this route. And this branch line, as already shown, could secure permission from the Japanese Government to land on Japanese territory only if it were established and conducted by private enterprise.

There is a sufficient number of responsible individuals and companies willing and even anxious to secure the permission to establish this entire cable to assure its completion within a reasonable time; they would only ask of the Government in return a subsidy of $400,000, or rather a guarantee that they would receive that amount annually for the transmission of all Government messages.

Having discussed the feasibility of a trans-Pacific cable owned by the Government, it is worth while to turn to the consideration of the more northern, or Alaskan, route (which has been also surveyed, though not by the Government), as compared with the southern course.

The northern cable route divides itself naturally into six links, of about 800 miles each, a fact which is of very great moment from a constructive point of view, as it would render one type of cable available for all the links, so that any link might be replaced with one reserve cable. The stations proposed on this route are: (1.) Sitka, the capital of Alaska, 803 miles; (2.) Kadiak Island, the farthest station north, in the latitude of Aberdeen, Scotland, 682 miles; (3.) Dutch Harbor, the greatest northern port for the immense Bering Sea gold travel, 770 miles; (4.) Attu, the western end of North America, 810 miles; (5.) the Japanese-Russian border, 858 miles; (6.) northern Japan, 810 miles, whence there are many wires overland, as well as cables to within 200 miles of the Philippines.

Primarily, a cable by way of Alaska to the Philippines, and in addition thereto a separate line from California to Hawaii,

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could be laid for about $12,000,000, as is indicated in the following table:

Route.	Single. Miles.	Single. Cost.	Duplicated. Miles.	Duplicated. Cost.
International cable, U. S. to Asia	4,883	$4,000,000	8,876	$6,000,000
Same, with cable to Hawaii	7,283	6,500,000	12,276	9,200,000
American, northern, to Philippines, via Alaska, with branches to Japan and separate cable to Hawaii	9,335	9,000,000	12,735	12,000,000
American, southern, via Hawaii and Guam	7,750	13,500,000	14,250	25,000,000

This surprising difference in cost is largely due to the difference in length of the links. The greater the stretch, the heavier and more costly the cable, with also slight chance of repair in case of interruption. So true is this, that Great Britain has been deterred from connecting Canada and Australia, as the first link from Vancouver to Fanning Islands would exceed 3,500 miles in length.

The arguments against such a route are to be found in the great natural difficulties to be encountered—fog, ice and great depths. The North Pacific is not as stormy, cold and foggy as the North Atlantic. The worst fogs lie immediately south of the Aleutian Islands, but the cable would not be laid there. It would pass to the north of these islands, where there is much less fog. A cable on the northern route could be repaired at any time of the year on any link, except during temporary storms, and the cable-ship could always find a harbor within one hundred miles of any break.

By the northern route, the different stretches vary but slightly in distance, and are all comparatively short, none exceeding 850 miles; so that, in case of a break, one cable-ship, if it were found impossible to make repairs, could easily relay one entire stretch, the cost of which would not amount to more than $600,000.

Not so on the southern route, with its four great stretches of 2,286, 1,254, 2,593 and 1,496 miles. With these the cost of a break in a great depth, in case repair were possible, would probably amount to several hundred thousand dollars, with the likelihood also of a necessity for the renewal of an entire stretch, which would cost from two to three millions. So far, the maximum depth from which a cable has been raised for repair is 2,700 fathoms, a depth which on the southern route is far exceeded in many spots. The greater the depth, the greater the pressure and strain upon the cable, and the greatest depths would be the spots where breakage would probably occur.

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That interruptions (breaks) are frequent is shown by the following table:

LIST OF INTERRUPTIONS.

1887	2 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 5.
1888	2 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 5.
1889	3 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 4.
1890	2 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 5.
1891	3 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 4.
1892	2 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 5.
1893	3 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 4.
1894	4 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 3.
1895	3 out of 7 cables were broken at one time, leaving 4.

The Anglo-American cable, laid in 1869, lived only 24 years. In that time there were 20 interruptions, of which the longest was of ten months' duration, and, roughly speaking, the cable was interrupted five and one-half years out of the twenty-four, the repairs costing over £300,000, or $1,500,000.

The three Atlantic cables of the Commercial Company's system, the first of which was laid in 1884, have been interrupted 78 times.

If we now return to the so-called Arctic route, its most northern station on the direct line is Kadiak, in the latitude of Aberdeen, Scotland. The lowest temperature there recorded in twenty years' observations was five degrees above zero. Florida has had the mercury lower than that within the past five years. The average winter temperature of Kadiak is as high as that of the District of Columbia. The climate of the other stations is similar. Dutch Harbor lies in the latitude of Liverpool; Sitka in the latitude of Glasgow and between the same isothermals; Attu is as warm as the other stations. Dutch Harbor was once inclosed by ice for a few days in the spring of 1864. The Asiatic coast is colder than Alaska, but at Petropavlovsk, which is 120 miles north of the first Asiatic station, the harbor is never blocked by ice. These few facts present a far milder picture than any that might be drawn of the Newfoundland Banks and the northern Atlantic, where sixteen cables have been laid.

The northern cable would be laid along a gradually shelving coast. Any depth desired could be picked out, from 500 fathoms to 2,000. It is proposed to keep between 500 and 1,500, so that the average would not exceed 1,000. The opportunity for this choice of depths continues from Cape Flattery to Dutch Harbor. Beyond Dutch Harbor, on the north of the Aleutian Islands, the depth averages 2,000 fathoms. From Attu to the Asiatic main-

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land is the deepest stretch on this course, reaching 2,200 fathoms. To avoid exceeding this depth the route has to run north of the Commander Islands (Russian), and this involves an increase in the distance (which is allowed for in the estimates); but the line thus keeps clear of a deep ocean hole which lies southwest of Attu. Southward to Japan, the mean depth is 800 fathoms, and nowhere does the depth exceed 1,500 fathoms.

On the southern route, no choice of depths is possible. There is no sloping shelf. Between San Francisco and Hawaii the mean depth is 2,500 fathoms, with a maximum of 3,073; between Hawaii and Midway Island the mean depth is 2,000, the maximum 3,026; from Midway Island to Guam the mean depth is 2,600, with a maximum of 4,900, and with sudden and great fluctuations; from Guam to Luzon the average depth is 2,200, the maximum 3,400.

It is argued that by the northern route several landings would be necessary on Japanese territory before reaching Manila, and so the exclusively American character of the cable could not be maintained. This is true, but the same difficulty would be met with on the southern line, because of the branch from Guam to Japan, which, as has been shown, would be necessary from a financial point of view, the cable business of the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands being so limited.

The only objection that can be made to the northern route is that it does not include the island of Guam. However, if Guam is considered of sufficient importance to require a cable of its own, $1,000,000 will lay a slow cable from the Philippines to it.

In distance, the southern exceeds the northern route by twenty-three per cent. On the former line there are no natural stations, and it runs through the greatest uninhabited waste of water on the globe.

From a strategic point of view, a comparison between Dutch Harbor and Hawaii gives significant results. Dutch Harbor is 2,000 miles nearer coal mines; it is 50 miles nearer San Francisco; it is 720 miles nearer the United States; it is 783 miles nearer the Philippines; it is as near to Guam; it is 2,500 miles nearer Japan; it is 900 miles nearer Yokohama; it is 1,020 nearer Shanghai; it is 600 nearer Hongkong; it is 1,260 nearer Vladivostok; it is 450 miles nearer Singapore; it is almost as near Australia, and it is a shorter route from Panama to Asia. These

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are direct distances. By cable routes the comparison is still more favorable to Dutch Harbor.

A map with concentric distance circles will show that Dutch Harbor is the great central port of the north Pacific, and that Hawaii is the most out-of-the-way place in the northern hemisphere.

At Dutch Harbor there is a deep and commodious harbor, with coal mines not far away now being operated. Hawaii has no coal.

As we have entered upon a policy of annexation and colonization, which must lead to the widest competition with the other Great Powers, let us prepare for the future. If England owned Dutch Harbor she would make it a great stronghold. Our Government should do the same. By so doing, we should sandwich Great Britain between Puget Sound on the south and Dutch Harbor on the west, thus at any time controlling communication between Canada and the East. With a cable to Dutch Harbor and a fleet there, we should be half way to any place in the northern Pacific.

Our Government, as previously stated, is now paying for cable communication with the Philippines about $400,000 annually, or by the present roundabout route $2.25 per word. More than three-fourths of this amount is expended by the War Department, and is directly due to the state of war now existing there. With the suppression of the rebellion such expense will be greatly reduced, probably more than fifty per cent.; and yet a private company which should lay and own the southern route would insist upon a Government subsidy of $400,000 for twenty years, or rather upon a guarantee that it would receive that amount for transmitting all Government messages, even though the route would be much shorter than the one used at present, and would probably be operated in time of peace.

By the northern route, which would be 2,500 miles shorter from London to Yokohama than by the Indian cables, thus producing competition and lowering the rates, the Government could send its messages, not at so much per year, but at so much per word.

CHANDLER HALE.

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FORECAST OF THE TWELFTH AMERICAN CENSUS.

BY MICHAEL G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

According to official estimates, the population of the United States on June 1, 1898, reached 74,400,000, showing an increase of 3,100,000 in two years. At the same rate of progress, the census of 1900 ought to show 77,500,000 people, but there is good reason to anticipate that the result will fall short of that figure by more than a million souls. Whether we consider the number of school children in 1897, or the natural increase from surplus of births over deaths, the result for 1900 seems to be between 76,000,000 and 76,200,000, comparing with previous census returns thus:

	Population.	Increase of 10 years.
1870	38,560,000	7,120,000
1880	50,156,000	11,596,000
1890	62,622,000	12,466,000
1900	76,200,000	13,578,000

The above, of course, includes immigration, the increase from which cannot easily be ascertained, as many persons leave the country. The natural increase in four decades is shown approximately as follows:

	Annual average.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
1860-70	11,600,000	6,300,000	5,300,000
1870-80	16,446,000	7,100,000	9,346,000
1880-90	17,856,000	9,590,000	8,266,000
1890-1900	22,568,000	11,450,000	11,118,000

The ordinary birth-rate appears to range from 31 to 33, the death-rate from 16 to 17 per 1,000 inhabitants. The death-rate was higher between 1860 and 1870 on account of the Civil War, and the birth-rate rose notably in the ensuing decade, as often

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occurs after war; this was specially remarkable in England after Waterloo, and in Germany after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. The following table shows the medium population during the four decades under consideration and the probable rates for births and deaths:

Period.	Medium pop.	Rates yearly per 1,000. Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
1860-70	35,000,000	33.2	18.0	15.2
1870-80	44,400,000	37.0	16.0	21.0
1880-90	56,400,000	31.6	17.0	14.6
1890-1900	69,400,000	32.5	16.5	16.0

Dr. Billings, in his report on the census of 1880, estimated the birth-rate at 31.4, the death-rate at 15.0 per thousand yearly, but he seems to have put the death-rate too low. It is to be observed that certain States and cities of the Union, with an aggregate population of 19,600,000 in 1890, or 31 per cent. of the total population, showed a record in that year of 466,000 deaths, equal to 20.8 per thousand. Taking the death-rate of the rest of the Union at the very low rate of 14.0, this gives a rate for the whole Union of 17 per thousand, which shows that Dr. Billings's rate is much too low.

Comparing the above birth and death rates for the decade ending 1890 with those of other countries for the same period, we find as follows:

	Per 1,000 inhabitants yearly. Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
United States	31.6	17.0	14.6
Canada	28.5	14.5	14.0
Germany	36.2	23.2	13.0
France	22.4	22.1	0.3
Austria	37.7	27.6	10.1
Italy	36.2	25.5	10.7
Holland	33.0	19.2	13.8
England	30.3	18.2	12.1
New Zealand	27.7	17.5	10.2
Average	31.5	20.5	11.0

It is remarkable that the natural increase in the United States is the highest in the above list, showing that the climate is on the whole healthy and favorable to a rapid growth of population.

At first sight, it must appear strange to a casual observer that, in spite of the great influx of immigrants, the number of foreigners in the Union grows but slowly. Thus, the present decade will have seen 3,543,000 arrivals, and yet the census of 1900 will show an increase of less than a million. The following

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table has been prepared in the hope that it may serve to explain the paradox:

Number of foreigners in 1860	4,140,000
Arrivals from 1860 to 1890	10,337,000
To be accounted for	14,477,000
Died in 30 years	3,030,000
Left the United States	2,197,000
Number of foreigners in 1890	9,250,000
Total accounted for	14,477,000

The above table, based on a uniform death-rate of 16 per thousand on the medium number of foreigners in each decade, shows that for 100 settlers who died in the United States during thirty years down to 1890, no fewer than 70 left the Union to return to Europe or go elsewhere—in other words, only three-fifths of settlers die in the Union. This is a very surprising fact, but none the less true, and hence the estimates for the current decade stand thus:

Number of foreigners in 1890	9,250,000
Arrivals from 1890 to 1900	3,543,000
To be accounted for	12,793,000
Deaths in 10 years	1,550,000
Left the United States	1,083,000
Number of foreigners in 1900	10,160,000
Total accounted for	12,793,000

Among the foreigners who come to the United States, some nationalities become so attached to the country that they really make it their home, especially Scandinavians, Germans and Irish; others, after residing a longer or shorter time, either return to Europe or go elsewhere, especially British. It is needless to say that the former are much to be preferred. The following table shows the deaths and departures of immigrants in thirty years, from 1860 to 1890:

	Germans.	Irish.	British.	Various.	Total.
Number in 1860	1,276,000	1,611,000	588,000	665,000	4,140,000
Arrivals, 30 years	3,026,000	1,540,000	1,906,000	3,865,000	10,337,000
Total	4,302,000	3,151,000	2,494,000	4,530,000	14,477,000
Died	911,000	870,000	417,000	832,000	3,030,000
Departed	606,000	409,000	826,000	356,000	2,197,000
Number in 1890	2,785,000	1,872,000	1,251,000	3,342,000	9,250,000
Total	4,302,000	3,151,000	2,494,000	4,530,000	14,477,000

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The above table shows that in thirty years, 13 per cent. of the Irish, 14 per cent. of the Germans and 33 per cent. of the British left the country. In other words, the annual outflow from 10,000 settlers in the Union was 43 among the Irish, 47 among the Germans and 110 among the British, which shows that Irish and Germans have two and one-half times as much attachment to America as the British, and that in this respect the Irish even surpass the Germans.

Although the next census will show a rise of ten per cent. in the number of foreigners, it will be found that some nationalities have suffered a falling off. The figures for 1900 will probably compare with those for 1890 as follows:

	Number.		Ratio.	
	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.
Germans	2,785,000	2,610,000	30.1	25.7
Irish	1,872,000	1,780,000	20.2	17.5
British	1,251,000	1,245,000	13.5	12.2
Scandinavians	933,000	1,040,000	10.1	10.2
Russians and Poles	330,000	700,000	3.6	6.9
Austrians	304,000	670,000	3.3	6.6
Italians	183,000	665,000	2.0	6.6
French	113,000	120,000	1.2	1.2
Swiss	104,000	110,000	1.1	1.1
Chinese	107,000	110,000	1.1	1.1
Dutch	81,000	90,000	0.9	0.9
Canadians, etc.	1,187,000	1,020,000	12.9	10.0
Total	9,250,000	10,160,000	100.0	100.0

The census of 1900 will show that the foreign population constitutes a declining ratio, and that the decline is very marked as regards Germans and Irish, who, together, stood in 1890 for more than fifty per cent. of the foreign-born, whereas now they stand for no more than forty-three per cent., while promiscuous nationalities have risen from twenty-six to thirty-four per cent. This is to be regretted, since Germans and Irish are better suited than people of Slavonic or Latin races to the wants and utilities of the Union. The relative proportions of American-born and foreign-born show thus:

				Ratio.	
	Population.	American.	Foreign.	American.	Foreign.
1860	31,440,000	27,300,000	4,140,000	86.8	13.2
1870	38,560,000	32,993,000	5,567,000	85.6	14.4
1880	50,156,000	43,475,000	6,680,000	86.7	13.3
1890	62,622,000	53,372,000	9,250,000	85.2	14.8
1900	76,200,000	66,040,000	10,160,000	86.3	13.4

The decline of immigration is the most serious feature as re-

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gards the future of the United States, without our pretending to foretell whether the results will be beneficial or the contrary. During ten years ending 1893, the average number of immigrants who landed was 490,000, and in five subsequent years, ending 1898, it fell to 280,000, a decline of forty-two per cent. The average for the last two years has been only 230,000, and hence it may be estimated that in the coming decade of 1900-1910 the number of arrivals will not exceed 2,500,000. In the meantime the mortality will have been 1,620,000, the probable efflux 1,080,000, together making 2,700,000, so that the census of 1910 will probably show only 10,000,000 foreigners in a total population of 91,000,000, or a ratio of eleven per cent. Thus, in the middle of the next century, the foreign element will form relatively only a small portion of the American people.

The next point to be considered is the colored population, which has been declining in ratio since 1880, viz.:

	Population.	Whites.	Colored.	Ratio. White.	Ratio. Colored.
1860	31,440,000	27,000,000	4,440,000	85.9	14.1
1870	38,560,000	33,678,000	4,882,000	87.3	12.7
1880	50,156,000	43,575,000	6,581,000	86.9	13.1
1890	62,622,000	55,152,000	7,470,000	88.1	11.9
1900	76,200,000	67,652,000	8,548,000	88.8	11.2

Dr. Billings has shown very clearly that the colored population has a higher birth-rate and death-rate than the whites, the mortality of children among the former being so great as to account for the fact that the natural increase of colored people bears a ratio much less than that of whites. The surplus of births over deaths in the decade ending 1890 was as follows:

	Medium population.	Surplus births.	Per cent.
Whites	49,370,000	7,377,000	14.9
Colored	7,030,000	889,000	12.6
Total	56,400,000	8,266,000	14.7

In order to make the population in 1900 reach the estimate already laid down of 76,200,000, it will be necessary to allow a higher ratio of natural increase both among whites and colored people in the current decade than in the above decade of 1881-90. The figures will stand thus for 1891-1900:

	Medium population.	Surplus births.	Per cent.
Whites	61,390,000	10,040,000	16.3
Colored	8,010,000	1,078,000	13.5
Total	69,400,000	11,118,000	16.0

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It is hardly possible to suppose a higher natural increase for a period of ten years than sixteen per cent., and hence the estimate of 76,200,000 for 1900 may be regarded as a maximum.

Urban population increases much more rapidly than rural; thus, in thirty years ending 1890, urban population had risen 260, rural only 68 per cent., the former progressing four times as fast as the latter. In no decade was the urban increase less than 40 per cent., and, supposing this rate of increase in the present decade, the figures for 1900 will compare with previous ones as follows:

				Ratio.	
	Population.	Urban.	Rural.	Urban.	Rural.
1860	31,443,000	5,070,000	26,373,000	16.1	83.9
1870	38,558,000	8,070,000	30,488,000	21.0	79.0
1880	50,156,000	11,320,000	38,836,000	22.6	77.4
1890	62,622,000	18,284,000	44,338,000	29.2	70.8
1900	76,200,000	25,600,000	50,600,000	33.6	66.4

As a general rule, it may be said that a rapid increase of urban population indicates a corresponding growth of wealth, and this is specially true of the United States, England and Scotland; while those countries in which rural population maintains predominance, such as Ireland, Russia, Spain, Hungary and Italy, remain in poverty. This is simply a result of economic laws, by which manufactures and commerce are more lucrative than agricultural pursuits. But this increase of wealth by no means signifies a better social condition, since it is always attended by a deplorable amount of misery. Thus, London is the richest city in the world, and at the same time one-fifth of its population, as Professor Huxley says, lives in a state far worse than Hottentots. It would be better for the United States if agricultural population kept pace with urban, although wealth were not to increase so rapidly as it does.

In order more closely to study the progress of the United States in population, wealth, public schools, taxation, etc., it may be well to classify the various States under five sections, viz.:

New England.—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut.

Middle States.—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia.

The South.—Two Virginias, two Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas.

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Prairie States.—Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, two Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas.

Pacific States.—California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming, Montana.

The increase of population in the several sections from 1860 to 1900 is shown in the following table:

States.	1860.	1890.	1900.	Increase in 40 years.	Per cent.
New England.....	3,135,000	4,701,000	5,460,000	2,325,000	74
Middle	8,330,000	14,141,000	17,520,000	9,190,000	110
South	10,260,000	18,391,000	22,060,000	11,800,000	115
Prairie	9,095,000	22,361,000	26,280,000	17,185,000	189
Pacific	620,000	3,028,000	4,880,000	4,260,000	687
The Union.....	31,440,000	62,622,000	76,200,000	44,760,000	142

If we combine the Prairie States and the Pacific under one heading, as the West, and group all the others under the denomination of the East, the relative progress of the former will be found more than double that of the latter:

States.	1860.	1900.	Increase.	Per cent.
Eastern	21,725,000	45,040,000	23,315,000	107
Western	9,715,000	31,160,000	21,445,000	220

The extraordinary development of the Western States is apparently due to three principal causes; first, the influx, not only of foreign settlers, but also of Americans from the Eastern States; the Homestead Law and other facilities for obtaining land cheap; the spread of railways in latter years.

There are six States in the Union of special importance, whose population has advanced as follows, since 1860:

	1860.	1890.	1900.*	Increase.	Per ct.
New York.....	3,881,000	5,998,000	7,160,000	3,279,000	84
Pennsylvania	2,906,000	5,258,000	6,080,000	3,174,000	110
Illinois	1,712,000	3,826,000	4,940,000	3,228,000	188
Ohio	2,340,000	3,672,000	3,830,000	1,490,000	64
Texas	604,000	2,236,000	2,930,000	2,326,000	385
Massachusetts	1,231,000	2,239,000	2,790,000	1,559,000	127

As the general increase of the Union in forty years has been 142 per cent., none of the above States, except Illinois and Texas, has kept pace with the Republic at large. The average progress of the Eastern States having been 107 per cent., this ratio is surpassed by Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, while New York is much below it. It is remarkable that, while the Western

* Estimates based on school-children in 1897, compared with 1890.

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States averaged 220 per cent., the growth of Ohio in forty years has been less than one-third of this ratio. Of the Southern States, none rivals Texas, which has seen her population quintupled since 1860.

II. WEALTH.

During the decade ending 1890, the annual increase of wealth averaged $377 per inhabitant. It is reasonable to suppose that this rate has been continued during the present decade, in which case the wealth of the United States in 1900 will be approximately as follows:

	Million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.
New England	5,223	5,517	1,111	1,010
Middle States	17,818	22,648	1,260	1,294
The South	9,768	13,688	531	622
Prairie States	25,256	36,066	1,130	1,373
Pacific States	6,811	13,121	2,247	2,610
The Union	64,876	91,040	1,036	1,195

The growth of wealth in New England has apparently not even kept pace with population. In the Middle States, each inhabitant seems to have gained a slight increase. The Prairie States seem to show an advance of $243, the Pacific $363 per head. The general increase for the Union is apparently $155 per head. The more important States may be approximately set down in this way:

	Million dollars.		Dollars per inhabitant.	
	1890.	1900.	1890.	1900.
New York	8,577	11,240	1,430	1,570
Pennsylvania	6,191	7,647	1,178	1,260
Illinois	5,067	7,205	1,325	1,455
Ohio	3,961	4,673	1,080	1,220
Texas	2,106	3,752	942	1,276
California	2,534	3,711	2,096	2,490
Missouri	2,398	3,278	895	1,096
Massachusetts	2,804	3,030	1,252	1,082

Wealth per inhabitant appears to have increased in all the above States except Massachusetts, where the ratio shows a decline. The greatest apparent increase is in the States of California and Texas.

III. PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The latest published returns of public schools are for the year 1897, and, if we suppose the same rate of progress for the remaining three years of the decade, the figures for 1900 will

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compare with those of previous dates as follows. The heading "School Population" indicates the official estimates of persons of school age—that is, from five to eighteen years:

	School population.	Pupils on rolls.	Average attendance.	Expenditure, dollars.
1870	12,060,000	6,870,000	4,080,000	63,400,000
1880	15,070,000	9,870,000	6,140,000	78,100,000
1890	18,540,000	12,710,000	8,150,000	140,500,000
1897	21,080,000	14,720,000	10,090,000	187,300,000
1900	22,350,000	15,610,000	11,060,000	210,400,000

The average attendance daily of children at school is now 48 per cent. of the number of persons of school age, whereas in 1870 it was only 34 per cent. This shows that public instruction has made great strides in thirty years; in fact, the average school attendance has risen 175 per cent., while the population of school age has advanced only 85 per cent. In other words, the march of the schools has been twice as fast as that of population. If we compare the numbers of school children on the rolls in 1897 with those of 1890, in the chief divisions of the Union, we see the progress of seven years thus:

	On rolls.		Expenditure, dollars.		Dollars per child.	
	1890.	1897.	1890.	1897.	1890.	1897.
New England	817,000	905,000	14,100,000	20,600,000	17.2	22.7
Middle States	2,542,000	2,944,000	37,200,000	55,600,000	14.7	18.9
The South	3,828,000	4,559,000	16,500,000	20,700,000	4.3	4.6
Prairie	5,008,000	5,587,000	62,800,000	76,700,000	12.5	13.7
Pacific	515,000	725,000	9,900,000	13,700,000	19.2	18.8
The Union	12,710,000	14,720,000	140,500,000	187,300,000	11.1	12.7

New England has the most liberal expenditure, while the Southern schools stand so low in this respect as to give room to fear that they are not properly supported; the average expenditure per child is four times as much in the Middle States, five times as much in New England, as in the South. The States which are foremost as regards public schools stood in 1897 as follows:

	On rolls.	Expenditure, dollars.	Dollars per child.
New York	1,203,000	26,700,000	22.2
Pennsylvania	1,140,000	19,600,000	17.2
Illinois	778,000	16,300,000	20.9
Ohio	798,000	12,600,000	15.8
Massachusetts	439,000	12,400,000	28.2
California	258,000	5,800,000	22.5

The average attendance at school compared with persons of school age is 49 per cent. in New York and Pennsylvania, 55 per cent in Massachusetts, Ohio and California, and 60 per cent. in

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Indiana, Oregon and Washington. The lowest ratio falls to Louisiana, where it is under 30 per cent. Expenditure, compared with population, averages $4 per inhabitant in New England, $3.40 in the Middle States, $1.05 in the South, $3.10 in the Prairie States, and $3.30 in the Pacific States. The general ratio for the whole Union is $2.60 per inhabitant, as compared with $1.64 in 1870.

IV. MINING.

The actual value* of all mining products in 1897 was 483 million dollars, against 452 millions in 1889; and, with a similar rate of progress, the output in 1900 will be 495 millions, being an advance of ten per cent. in eleven years. The values were:

	Million dollars.		
	1880.	1889.	1897.
Gold	36	33	57
Silver	33	46	31
Copper, etc	13	25	40
Coal	96	160	199
Petroleum	24	26	41
Stone	23	58	41
Sundries	45	104	74
Total	270	452	483

Mining is an industry of minor importance; it gave occupation in 1890 to 390,000 men, the product of whose labor gave an average of $1,130, whereas each hand engaged in manufactures stood for $2,050. The census of 1900 will probably show 430,000 men engaged in mining. It may be interesting to note that in 1897 coal stood for almost 42 per cent. of the total value, silver only for six and one-half per cent. From 1890 to 1897, coal mining increased 5,500,000 tons yearly, against 3,000,000 tons in Great Britain; at this rate the production in 1900 will reach 195 million tons, in Great Britain 208 millions; and in 1905 the production in the two countries will be equal, namely, 223 million tons.

V. MANUFACTURES.

The principal manufactures being those of hardware and textiles, we may arrive at an approximate value of this branch of industry at next census by assuming that the consumption of raw material in 1900 will be the same as it was in 1898. Thus the

* The official value was 632 millions, but this includes pig iron (instead of iron ore) and sets down silver at 133 cents per ounce, instead of 59 cents, the real value.

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consumption of iron, steel, cotton, wool, flax, etc., at various dates compares as follows:

	Tons.					
	Iron.	Steel	Cotton.	Wool.	Flax, etc.	All fibre.
1860	900,000	400,000	170,000	70,000	20,000	260,000
1870	1,860,000	1,050,000	220,000	92,000	58,000	370,000
1880	3,500,000	1,600,000	423,000	136,000	111,000	670,000
1890	7,700,000	3,400,000	520,000	168,000	202,000	890,000
1898	11,600,000	7,100,000	835,000	180,000	255,000	1,270,000

The value of hardware and number of hands employed in 1880 and 1890 were as follows:

	Hands.		Output, million dollars.	
	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.
Ironworks	141,000	153,000	297	431
Foundries	145,000	248,000	214	413
Implements, etc.	148,000	205,000	232	353
Sundries	121,000	204,000	232	463
All hardware	555,000	810,000	975	1,660

We have seen that the output of iron in 1898 was 50 per cent. over that of 1890, hence, we may infer that the census of 1900 will show hardware manufactures to the value of 2,490 million dollars, or 50 per cent. over the returns for 1890.

It has been shown, in a previous table, that the consumption of fibre for textile manufactures rose 90 per cent. between 1880 and 1898. The census returns of this branch of industry for 1890 compare with those of 1880 thus:

	Hands.		Output, million dollars.	
	1880.	1890.	1880.	1890.
Cottons	187,000	222,000	211	268
Woollens	126,000	154,000	227	263
Hosiery	29,000	61,000	29	67
Silks	31,000	51,000	41	87
Sundries	53,000	24,000	99	69
Clothing	252,000	439,000	307	607
Total	683,000	951,000	914	1,361

As the weight of fibre consumed in 1898 was 43 per cent. over that in 1890, we may infer that the value of textile manufactures in 1900 will be about 1,945 millions, or 43 per cent. over 1890. Supposing an advance of 40 per cent. on other manufactures, the output in 1900 will compare with 1890 as follows:

	Million dollars.		
	1890.	1900.	Increase.
Hardware	1,660	2,490	830
Textiles	1,361	1,945	584
Sundries	6,351	8,891	2,540
Total	9,372	13,326	3,954

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The number of hands will probably increase in the same degree as the value of goods manufactured, hence the figures should be as follows:

	Hands employed		
	1890.	1900.	Increase.
Hardware	810,000	1,215,000	405,000
Textiles	951,000	1,360,000	409,000
Sundries	2,952,000	4,135,000	1,183,000
Total	4,713,000	6,710,000	1,997,000

The manufacturing hands in 1900 would thus be nine per cent. of the population, against seven and one-half per cent. in 1890. By the above is understood the number of hands employed in factories, without counting artisans and small tradesmen.

VI. AGRICULTURE.

Grain and cotton are the chief products, and, if the progress from 1897 to 1900 be similar to that from 1890 to 1897, the next census will compare with previous dates as follows:

	Acres.		
	Grain.	Cotton.	Total.
1880	121,000,000	15,500,000	136,500,000
1890	140,700,000	20,200,000	160,900,000
1897	150,400,000	24,300,000	174,700,000
1900	154,600,000	26,100,000	180,700,000

The above total is exclusive of potatoes, hay, tobacco, sugar, etc. Taking merely the grain and cotton areas, we find an increase of two million acres yearly since 1890, or twelve and one-half per cent. in ten years, while the increase of population has been twenty-two per cent. The value of all farm products in 1900 will probably be more or less the same as in 1898, the figures for which compare with previous dates thus:

	Million dollars.			
	Home use.	Exported.	Total.	Dollars per inhabitant.
1880	2,690	680	3,370	67.20
1886	3,245	485	3,730	64.80
1893	3,290	620	3,910	58.80
1898	3,685	855	4,540	61.00

Judged by the above table, agriculture does not keep pace with population, the value of agricultural products per inhabitant being now ten per cent. less than in 1880. The decline is in pastoral products, the live stock of the Union showing as follows:

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	Horses.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.	Value, million dollars.
1880	12,900,000	33,300,000	40,800,000	34,000,000	1,577
1886	14,100,000	45,500,000	48,300,000	46,100,000	2,365
1893	18,500,000	52,400,000	47,300,000	46,100,000	2,484
1898	16,200,000	45,100,000	37,700,000	39,800,000	1,889

Land grants under the Homestead and other acts averaged ten and one-half million acres yearly from 1890 to 1898. The area under farms by the census of 1890 was 623 million acres, and the census of 1900 ought, therefore, to show an area of 728 million acres, or seventeen per cent. increase. If the number of hands increase in like ratio, the census of 1900 will show 10,540,000 persons engaged in agricultural pursuits, the product of whose labor, as shown above, will represent a value of 4,540 million dollars, say $430 per hand, against $2,050 for each hand employed in manufactures.

VII. RAILROADS.

The mileage length of railroads in operation in the principal sections of the Union is shown as follows:

	Miles.			
	1870.	1880.	1890.	1897.
New England	4,494	5,977	6,832	7,266
Middle States	10,577	15,181	20,088	22,124
The South	12,554	19,861	43,448	49,333
Prairie	22,747	44,203	75,426	81,285
Pacific	2,550	8,074	20,888	24,595
The Union	52,922	93,296	166,682	184,603

The average length of new lines constructed was 4,040 miles *per annum* in the decade ending 1880; it rose to 7,340 miles a year from 1880 to 1890, and fell to 2,560 miles yearly in the period from 1890 to 1897. If the increase of three ensuing years be in the same ratio, the mileage in 1900 will be as follows, compared with population and area:

	Miles.	Population.	Miles per 10,000 inhabitants.	Per 1,000 square miles.
New England	7,450	5,460,000	14	111
Middle States	22,990	17,520,000	13	198
The South	51,860	22,060,000	23	58
Prairie	83,810	26,280,000	32	109
Pacific	26,190	4,880,000	53	22
The Union	192,300	76,200,000	25	64

The construction of railways in the current decade has not kept pace with population, the total mileage in traffic being now only 25 miles per 10,000 inhabitants, against 27 miles in 1890.

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Capital invested in the railroads of the United States, compared with population at various periods (with an estimate for 1900), shows as follows:

	Million dollars.	Population.	Dollars per inhabitant.
1870	2,665	38,560,000	70
1880	5,240	50,156,000	105
1890	9,646	62,622,000	154
1897	10,860	72,800,000	149
1900	11,380	76,200,000	149

At the census of 1890 railroads represented fifteen per cent. of the wealth of the nation, but in 1900 they will stand only for twelve and one-half per cent.

VIII. SUMMARY.

The census of 1900 may, therefore, be expected to compare with the two latest thus:

				Million dollars.		
	Population.	School pupils.	Farms, million acres.	Wealth.	Manufactures	Mining.
1880	50,156,000	9,870,000	536	43,642	5,370	270
1890	62,622,000	12,710,000	623	64,876	9,372	452
1900	76,200,000	15,610,000	728	91,040	13,326	495

In twenty years the population appears to have risen fifty-two per cent., but the increase under all other headings, except agriculture, has been much greater, as shown in the following table of comparison:

	Population.	Scholars.	Agriculture.	Wealth.	Manufactures.	Mining.
1880	100	100	100	100	100	100
1890	125	128	116	147	175	167
1900	152	158	136	209	249	183

The daily progress of the United States during the current decade is briefly shown thus: An increase of 4,000 in population, of 800 school children, of 29,000 acres under farms, of $7,500,000 in wealth, of $1,100,000 in manufactures. These figures are really stupendous, but there is motive for serious reflection in the fact that agriculture does not keep pace either with any other branch of industry or with population.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

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THE PLAGUE AT OPORTO.

BY DR. ALBERT CALMETTE, DIRECTOR OF THE LILLE PASTEUR INSTITUTE.

DURING the past hundred and fifty years, Europe has been accustomed to regard the plague as a disease that might be expected to rest confined to the extreme eastern part of the Old World. Since the famous epidemic at Marseilles in 1720, the disease has made but rare incursions on European soil. Except for several epidemics, of a limited nature, confined to the borders of the Caspian Sea, European Turkey and the Balkan Peninsula, the plague has ceased visiting the large seaports of the Adriatic, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, where, for the three hundred years before the eighteenth century, it had made no inconsiderable ravages.

The recent appearance of this malady at Oporto has justly disturbed Europe; for one now perceives that the plague, contrary to what has hitherto been believed, is not incompatible with the progress of civilization and modern hygiene. An inquiry, as circumstantial as possible, has been made regarding the causes of the importation of the plague at Oporto; but it has been impossible to discover the source of infection.

Two hypotheses, equally plausible, have been advanced. According to one, the disease had spread among the small rodents, rats and mice, at Oporto, long before the first case of the plague had been reported. Since the recent investigations of Dr. Yersin and Dr. Simond in India, it is admitted, in fact, that rats and mice are most susceptible to the plague virus, and that in localities where this pestilence appears they succumb in great numbers.

Generally, the mortality among the small rodents precedes the appearance of the disease among human beings. This fact is well known to the natives of certain valleys of the Himalayas,

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who, when they perceive the rats and mice dying in large numbers, abandon their villages to prevent the spreading of the disease in their homes. It would not be surprising if the plague virus had been brought to Oporto, several months before the outbreak, by the rats disembarked from a ship coming from Alexandria or India. The inhabitants of the quarter bordering on the Douro remarked, indeed, that the streets were overrun by swarms of rodents, and that the dead bodies of these animals were often found in the streams of the town.

The other hypothesis holds to the opinion that the plague was brought to Oporto by an English ship, the "City of Cork," coming from London, and making regular voyages between London and Oporto. On several occasions during the months of May and June, this ship unloaded Asiatic merchandise on the wharf of Oporto, especially rice from Rangoon and Burmah, tea from China and India, tapioca and cinnamon bark from Ceylon, and fibres from Bombay, Calcutta and the Island of Mauritius. This much is certain, that the earliest cases of the plague coincided with each unloading of this cargo, and those first stricken down were the men employed in discharging the cargo and the women who repaired the sacks used for unloading the grain.

One may well be surprised that this merchandise, as it came from London, had not infected the capital of the United Kingdom; but, on the other hand, it is quite possible that a ship on a direct or indirect course from India might have brought to the wharf of Oporto rats infected with the virus or contaminated clothing.

To satisfy oneself on this point, it need only be remembered that in 1896 two Portuguese cooks, who arrived by ship at London on September 27th, succumbed to the plague the following 3d of October at the Marine Hospital in that city; the ship which brought them having left Bombay on the 21st of the preceding August, and no other persons on the ship, either during the voyage or after landing, having been attacked by the disease. These cooks had taken no part in the unloading of the vessel, but they had brought in their boxes toilet articles, silk handkerchiefs, etc., bought at Bombay; from the London docks these were carried away in their trunks, and it was these articles which were evidently infected. The virulence of the plague-microbe evidently lasted for more than a month. One must then admit the reason-

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ableness of the hypothesis of the indirect importation of the plague to Oporto by London.

The first properly proven cases appeared on the 5th of June, but the presence of the disease was not officially confirmed until the 13th of August. This long delay cannot be attributed to the neglect of the medical staff or of the Portuguese Government, for the diagnosis of the plague presents great difficulties, and, on the other hand, the importance of the question was such that the doctors were obliged to protect themselves by the most precise scientific tests before officially affirming to the authorities at Lisbon the true nature of the disease.

As I have just stated, the first cases of plague appeared among the unloaders and porters living in the squalid quarter on the right side of the Douro, near the Exchange. This district is composed of narrow lanes, from ninety centimetres* to one and a half metres† wide, in flights of steps, with houses of two or three stories high, in a notoriously insanitary condition. Each of these houses contained several families, and often a number of persons lived huddled together in the same room. In many cases the ground floor was occupied by both shops and stables, where human beings swarmed amidst pigs, goats and all kinds of animals.

This district was unprovided with sewers. Here and there one met with cesspools choked with refuse that had accumulated for centuries. Of course, these cesspools were infested by legions of rats, from which it was impossible to clear them completely.

The first three cases appeared in the Rue Ronte Taurina. This lane directly communicated with the harbor, and the epidemic was not long in spreading to the neighboring houses and streets. During June, July and August the cases were relatively few, not more than five or six a week being reported; but in reality there was a large number of cases of illness and of deaths not reported in the official statistics; many families concealed their sick to prevent the obligatory transportation to the hospital; and hardly any of the fatal cases had been visited by a physician. From the inquiry that I made on the spot, I estimate the true number of cases at this period as being at least three times as many as were declared.

On the other hand, the season of the greatest heat was not

* .9842 of a yard.
† 1.6204 yards.

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favorable to the propagation of the epidemic; but, when the wet weather of mid-September arrived, the disease made great progress, and as many as four to six cases were then reported daily.

When the first cases of the plague were discovered, the Portuguese authorities commenced by ordering the isolation of the town by means of a sanitary cordon of troops. In the beginning of September, when the French Scientific Mission arrived at Oporto, we found the town absolutely deprived of all communication with the outer world; it was almost impossible to supply the place with fresh provisions, and the price of food had largely increased; all shops were closed, the streets deserted, and Oporto had the aspect of a city in mourning. More than forty thousand laborers were without work, the factories having closed their doors.

All the foreign doctors present agreed with us that this isolation was more dangerous than useful, and that the famine that would result among the people would certainly do more to propagate the plague than to restrict it.

We advised the Portuguese Government to abandon this antiquated method. Our advice was but partially followed; the Government decided to permit the entrance of necessary provisions and the departure of travellers from one of the stations in the town under the restriction that luggage should be disinfected, and that passengers and their goods going to any other town in Portugal should submit to sanitary surveillance for nine days after their arrival. Our previsions were entirely realized. The sanitary cordon neither diminished the intensity of the epidemic nor prevented it from spreading, since several places outside the cordon were attacked by the scourge.

Measures of isolation, such as those undertaken by the Portuguese Government, could not be efficacious in a densely populated country; they are admissible in certain localities, of Eastern Russia, for example, where the population is thinly distributed and where there exist large territories without inhabitants. But in an European city isolation by a cordon of troops is entirely useless, since the inhabitants are dependent on the surrounding country for subsistence. On the other hand, it is practically certain that the soldiers employed for the sanitary cordon will be infected and that the cordon itself will become a means for propagating the disease outside.

At the time when the French Scientific Mission was sent to

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Oporto by the Pasteur Institute, the nature and exact virulence of the disease were not entirely decided; it was necessary to determine with exactitude if the microbe was identical with that studied by Yersin in India, and if, following the inception of the virus in the European race, its characteristics had not changed. It was also urgently necessary to take account of the value of the prophylactic and therapeutic means which the studies of the past three years of the Pasteur Institute had suggested for the defense of Europe against the plague.

We commenced, then, by investigating, by means of experiments on animals susceptible to the plague, the degree of virulence presented by the microbe at Oporto compared with that of India, and we were not long in deciding that the Oporto microbe was extremely virulent, even more so than the one isolated at Bombay. Although the cases among human beings were not numerous, the disease presented characteristics the gravity of which in nearly all cases was disquieting. It was very often a case of pestilent pneumonia, which, from the studies made in India by English and French doctors, seems to be almost always fatal. The disease appeared with variable characteristics, and we were enabled to observe all forms of plague which had hitherto been described by various authors during the course of serious preceding epidemics.

The most common form is incontestably the traditional bubonic plague, which reveals itself by the appearance of tumors, that is to say, by large glands in the groin and in the armpits, or in the neck on each side of the jaw. The appearance of these glands is accompanied by high fever, headache and lumbago; those stricken are seized by a sort of mad fright, which sometimes leads them to escape from their homes when the pain does not oblige them to take to their beds at once. In slight cases, the glands remain highly swollen for eight or ten days; then they discharge, forming one or many abscesses more or less large; the fever goes down, and the normal condition returns. In more severe cases the glands are extremely painful; about the second or third day the body is covered with small red spots and then by pustules and a black tumor analogous to malignant pustules or anthrax. These cases are nearly always fatal. At other times, the patient is suddenly seized with intense fever, difficulty in breathing, spitting of blood; and it is then the pestilent pneu-

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monia which develops, without any of the surface glands to permit the true nature of the disease to be suspected; it is a case, I repeat, of pestilent pneumonia, the diagnosis of which can only be made by an examination of the expectorations under the microscope, and it generally proves fatal in three to five days. In other very rare cases the plague takes an internal form strongly resembling typhoid fever; this kind is also mortal—at least without the intervention of serotherapic methods during the first days of its appearance.

The average mortality at Oporto was less than during the epidemics in India; up to the first of September about forty deaths were recorded for every hundred persons stricken; thereafter, thanks to the serotherapic treatment which was generally employed, at least in the plague hospital, the mortality fell to twelve per cent. These figures are naturally most encouraging and reassuring as to the future.

The experiments instituted by the initiative of the French Mission, and conducted with the aid of all the Portuguese and foreign doctors present at Oporto, prove in the most unexceptionable manner that, with energetic measures, intelligently applied, it is easy to arrest the spread of the disease in a district or in a city. These experiments were first of all directed toward the prevention of the plague among animals susceptible to it and among mankind. The international committee appointed to verify this by the President of the Portuguese Council of Ministers, affirmed that every one who would submit to the inoculation of five cubic centimetres of the anti-plague serum of the Pasteur Institute would, by such vaccination, be protected against the plague for a period of about three weeks, and that it would be of the greatest value if this vaccination were made obligatory, at least for the inhabitants of a house where a case of plague had occurred. A large number of persons were vaccinated at Oporto by this method, particularly including those who, by reason of their profession, were the most liable to contract the disease—for example, the employees of the disinfection service, the nurses and the men employed to carry away the bodies. The sole inconvenience of this method consists in the necessity of renewing the vaccinations about every twenty-five days, for the reason that the refractory state produced by the serum does not last longer.

With regard to the treatment of the sick, the actual statistics

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of the Plague Hospital report six deaths among sixty-three patients treated by the anti-plague serum. When one compares this mortality of ten per cent. with that of seventy or eighty per cent. which has prevailed in preceding epidemics, particularly in India, the almost perfect efficacy of the serum for the cure of the plague is demonstrated.

Before applying this treatment to patients, the French Scientific Mission wished to make experimental demonstrations on animals at the Hygienic Laboratory at Oporto. For this purpose we chose rats and monkeys; for these two species of animals are particularly susceptible to the plague virus. We commenced by determining the dose of virus necessary to kill these rats or monkeys with certainty in thirty-six hours or in five days; and after this was ascertained, we inoculated several series of animals with the same dose of the same virus. These were treated at varying stages after infection, some twenty-four hours, others nine hours, and others again two days after they had commenced to be ill. Each of these animals received varying quantities of serum, according to the state of the symptoms presented by it, and we were able to report to the International Commission that all the animals treated were perfectly cured. Under these conditions, there was no hesitation in applying the method to the sick in the hospital, and we have cause to congratulate ourselves on the results obtained.

The report of the International Commission of Oporto formally concluded by the adoption of the anti-plague serum of the Pasteur Institute, both for prevention and treatment.

We are now able, therefore, to establish with precision the precautions which it would be necessary to take if a case of plague should appear in any of the European or American cities in communication with an infected country. First of all, we know that the disease is principally propagated by rats and mice; we also know, thanks to the labors of Doctor Simond and Doctor Hankin, that the transmission of the plague from rats to human beings is most often effected by the agency of fleas. These little insects abandon rats after death to go either on other rats or on human beings, and they equally transport the infectious agent from animal to animal, and from person to person. One must, therefore, prevent, as far as possible, the importation of contaminated rats and mice, and this is the first condition to fulfill.

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The Government should engage the navigation companies to use all possible measures to destroy rodents in their vessels; owners of large storehouses, especially those in which grain and cotton are deposited, should make every effort to free their buildings from these noxious and dangerous inmates. If, in spite of all precautions, a case of plague appears in a town or on a vessel, one should begin by isolating the patient in an out-building, where mosquitoes, flies and other human parasites have no access. This having been done, one should immediately insist on the vaccination by the anti-plague serum of all persons who, by their present or past relations with the patient, had been exposed to infection. The ordinary measures for disinfection will then suffice, and there is no doubt that the disease can be immediately arrested by these means.

The measures that the French Scientific Mission recommended to the sanitary authorities of Oporto were these: (1.) Isolation and the obligatory transportation of those stricken to a special hospital; (2.) compulsory vaccination of all persons who have been in contact with the sick, or who inhabit the same house; (3.) the building of temporary huts to lodge for a period of twenty days all persons who have inhabited a house where a case of plague has occurred; (4.) complete disinfection, airing and abandoning for a space of twenty days a house where a case of plague has been observed; (5.) the organization, as at Bombay, if (as almost always happens) the population conceals cases, of search committees, composed of doctors, nurses, litter bearers and police —which committees, arranged for districts, should visit twice a day all dwelling places in their quarter and satisfy themselves that no case of illness exists in them; (6.) the methodical destruction of rats and mice in the shops, houses and sewers; (7.) liberty of circulation outside the town for all persons who have been vaccinated against the plague, within a period of not less than forty-eight hours nor more than fifteen days after such vaccination; (8.) the burning of buildings of small value where many cases of the disease have occurred.

ALBERT CALMETTE.

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STATE CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN.

BY HENRIETTA CHRISTIAN WRIGHT.

THE history of the state care of children the world over has been that of the workhouse or almshouse. In France, indeed, boarding out seems to have been applied widely as early as 1450, when an ordinance was passed regulating the salaries of the nurses and agents employed in caring for pauper children in country homes. Fosterage existed even earlier in England, where, in the reign of Edward III., an Act was passed forbidding English children from being cared for by Irish foster parents, as it had been found that such care denationalized the children and made them Irish rather than English in sympathy. But, with these and a few minor exceptions, the pauper children of Europe, and later those of America and the European colonies, were for generations cared for in institutions. The literature of the subject includes volumes of statistics which attest the evils of the workhouse and the almshouse, where the children were herded with adult paupers, and from under whose jurisdiction they passed into the world notoriously unfit for anything but lives of pauperism and lowest crime.

The efforts of private individuals at last rescued the workhouse waifs, and placed them in institutions set apart for the care of children alone. Here the child was made cleanly in habit, and amenable to discipline, while ophthalmia, scrofula and other diseases inherent in institution life showed some signs of abatement. But when the child left the institution, it was found that he still lacked in the great essential to success—capacity. From the system of constant espionage and guidance, and the reduction to mechanical routine of all the ordinary offices of life, the child had become dulled in faculty, unthinking, and dependent. In the institution, he had been, during the formative period of his life, a "number," and he "ate, drank, studied, marched, played and slept

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in companies, platoons and regiments." A visitor to one institution found a class of boys between eleven and thirteen years of age who had never brushed their own hair, the matron having found it easier to stand them in rows and perform this service for them, than to teach each individual boy how to do it for himself. Hundreds of girls in their teens left the institutions yearly who had never made a fire, placed a tea kettle to boil, or performed any of the minor household duties so necessary to their training as domestic servants. It was, in fact, discovered that the child, who, at great expense to the state, had been fed and taught for a long period of years, was less capable of earning his living, than the youth who had grown up "half naked and half starved" in his parents' cottage in the peat bogs of Ireland.

The pauper child, helpless and hopeless, had made an appeal to nature, and nature had avenged him. In place of the promise of youth and the ideals which were to guarantee the security of the state, she returned, for value received, the institutionalized youth, a drag upon society, and, in the end, an added burden to the taxpayer. Grave as were these defects, there was added the still graver one that institutions increased juvenile pauperism. Wherever a new institution arose, there sprang up, as if from the ground, hundreds of applicants for admission. The idle and vicious parents eagerly took advantage of the means thus offered for the support of their children during the non-wage earning period; and, with every new gift of a costly edifice, the state found itself putting a premium upon the poverty it was vainly endeavoring to stamp out.

In the meantime a remedy for the evil had already arisen. In 1828, an Education Inquiry Commission, reporting upon the condition of the Protestant Charter Schools of Ireland, found so discreditable a state of things that the schools were abolished, no provision being made meanwhile for the orphans of that faith. Not long afterwards, three Protestant Irish working men, considering it their duty to care for the children of a comrade who had just died, started a subscription of a penny a week, and, with the sum of three pence as capital, found a refuge for the children among some respectable laboring people of their own faith.

On the ruins of the Charter Schools arose, from the act of these working men, the Protestant Orphan Society of Ireland, which has been the parent of the modern system of boarding out

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the dependent children of the state. The methods of this society have been sustained, in the main, by succeeding organizations. The orphans were placed, as far as possible, in the families of small farmers, or laborers, whose station in life corresponded to their own. In every case, the children were given into the charge of the mother of the family, who was made directly responsible for their care. A certificate of character was required from the parish priest and the nearest magistrate, attesting to her "morality and sobriety, to the suitability of her house and family and the possession of one or more cows," while it was also stipulated that she receive no children from the Foundling Hospital or any other charitable institution. The homes were visited by Inspectors, whose reports contained the history of every child while under the care of the society. The Protestant clergyman of each district was also a regular correspondent of the society, and the foster mothers were required to present themselves and their wards at the annual meetings of the society, the society paying the travelling expenses. It was found that the cost under the boarding out system was one-third *per capita* of that expended in institutions, while the rate of mortality was under one per cent. In 1859, thirty-one years after the establishment of the society, the death rate of the children in a single workhouse in Cork was eighty per cent. in one year, while nearly all the survivors were afflicted with scrofula. These horrors were exceeded by the revelations of the Dublin workhouse, which so excited popular indignation that an Act was passed in 1862 authorizing the boarding out of workhouse children.

That the problem of the state care of children was solved by the incorporation of the Protestant Orphan Society of Ireland, is proven by the subsequent history of dependent child life in nearly every civilized quarter of the globe. In places widely separated by geographical limits, as well as by the differences of race and creed, the state care of children is evolving from institutionalism to the natural conditions of home life. England, Ireland, Russia, Italy, Scotland, Germany, Switzerland and other European countries have their several modifications of the boarding out system, attributable to the varying conditions of social life, but conforming in the main to the leading features of the original plan. And although no one of these countries is yet freed entirely from the bane of institutionalism, yet year by year fosterage is becoming more popular, as its beneficent effects become more widely known. In Belgium, so

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thoroughly recognized is the value of home training for future citizens, that *all* boys under the care of the state are boarded out, though the girls are in many cases still retained in institutions. In some of the departments of France, the system of fosterage has arrived at the precision of a military organization. Here the child, who would otherwise be placed in a foundling or orphan asylum, is enrolled at birth as an *enfant de la Patrie*, and, whenever possible, is placed at once in a foster home in the country. There his physical and moral welfare and his education are watched over by the *agent de surveillance*, in whose quarterly reports is recorded the history of the child until his twelfth year. He is then eligible for apprenticeship, and he receives from the state a certain sum of money for an outfit. But, in nearly all cases, the affection between the child and its foster parents has become, by this time, so strong that he is either adopted legally, or retained in the family as an apprentice, the money being placed in the savings bank, in order that he may have a little capital to begin the world with on reaching his majority.

Australia has, perhaps, the most perfect system of boarding out yet evolved. As early as 1852, the first Legislature of South Australia decreed that no public money should be given to denominational schools, whether educational or charitable. Twenty-five years ago the state began boarding out its dependent children; the saving to the government, as well as the rapid decrease in the juvenile pauper class, at once made the new departure acceptable, though the law compelling children to attend school throughout the entire year increased the expense of fosterage in Australia beyond that in European countries.

The American poorhouse, from the first, fell into line with the English workhouse in its influence as a breeder of crime and pauperism. The poorhouse child came either from the directly vicious class, or from those "water-logged" families with whom pauperism was hereditary, and, as a rule, he left his early home but to return to it in later life. The enactment of each new law to mitigate the evils of the almshouse only made the idle and vicious parent more eager to accept the advantages thus offered to his offspring, and pauperism increased out of all proportion to the growth of the country.

Outside the almshouses, there was a condition even worse. All over the country, and especially in cities, there arose a class of chil-

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dren who anticipated in character the adult tramp of to-day. These were in many cases runaways, to whom the restraints of the almshouse were irksome, and they also formed the larger proportion of juvenile criminals. In 1848, there were, in New York City alone, 30,000 such waifs known as "street children," who had no homes, who begged and stole their food, who slept in the streets, assisted professional criminals in their nefarious practices, and in time were graduated into the ranks of the adult criminal. This menace to society, undreamed of by the more orderly class, was made officially public by the report of the Superintendent of Police, and out of the exigency arose, in 1853, the New York Children's Aid Society, whose president, Charles Loring Brace, grasped with the intuition of genius the true solution of the problem of child saving. When Mr. Brace asked the Chief of Police to confer with him in regard to means for saving these children, the Chief replied that the attempt would be useless. Nevertheless, Mr. Brace began his work; and, knowing that this wreckage of civilization could be saved only by a return to nature, he at once began placing the wards of the Society in homes in the East and West. In 1854, the first company of forty-six children left the office of the Society, the greater number to find homes in Michigan and Iowa. Within the second year, the Society had placed nearly eight hundred children in homes in the Eastern and Western States. The Society has continued its work on the same lines, and through its efforts thousands of men and women have been saved from lives of pauperism and crime. The reports of the Society, which has always kept in touch with its wards, show how fully the faith of its founders has been justified, and how they builded even better than they knew. From out this army of waifs, rescued from the gutter and the prison, there have come the editor, the judge, the bank president, the governor, while thousands of simpler careers attest the beneficence of this noble charity. There is small reason to doubt that, if the guardianship of the entire dependent children of the State had been given over to the Children's Aid Society, the question of juvenile pauperism and crime would long since have been solved. But this was not to be, and almshouses and institutions still retained the greater number of children committed to their care. The evil was greatly augmented by the passage of the now celebrated "Children's Law" in 1875, which contained a clause providing that all children committed to institu-

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tions should be placed in those controlled by persons of the same religious faith as the parents of the children. Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell says that: "The direct effect of this provision is found in the establishment of nine Roman Catholic and two Hebrew institutions to receive committed children, all except three having between 300 and 1,300 inmates each."

Within twenty years after this law passed the number of inmates in the twenty-seven institutions benefited directly by it increased from 9,000 to 16,000. In 1889, of the 20,384 children cared for in the city institutions, only 1,776 were orphans and 4,987 half orphans. The remaining 13,621 had been committed by magistrates, many at the request of parents, or had been brought by parents voluntarily to the institution. In Kings County alone, five years after the passage of the "Children's Law," the number of dependent children increased from 300 to 1,479, most of the commitments being made by parents anxious to be relieved of the care of their children, until the wage earning period was reached. Another objectionable feature arose from the greater length of time that children have been retained in institutions, since the passage of the law. With a direct *per capita* income from the State, the institutions have not been able to withstand the temptation to keep their charges as long as possible. The reports of the Comptroller's office for October, 1894, showed that 1,935 children in institutions had been inmates over five years: 55 of these were in Protestant institutions, 268 in Hebrew, and 1,612 in Roman Catholic institutions. The same year showed an average of 567 children in institutions between 13 and 14 years of age, 444 between 14 and 15, and 247 between 15 and 16 years of age. One institution in 1892 had wards twenty-two years old, and was "caring for" 129 youths over 17 years of age. In 1894, it was found that twenty-three per cent. of the dependent children of New York City had been in institutions at public cost over periods ranging from five to fourteen years. A report of the State Board of Charities for 1873, three years before the passage of the "Children's Law," showed that only eight per cent. of the total had been in institutions over five years. An equally striking fact is that, since the passage of the "Children's Law," the number of children placed in families by institutions has greatly decreased. In 1875, out of 14,773 children in institutions, there were 823 placed in families. In 1884, out of 33,558 children in institutions, there

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were only 1,370 placed in families. While the population of the State of New York increased but thirty-eight per cent. during the first seventeen years after the passage of the law, the number of children in institutions increased ninety-six per cent.

In New York City, a report of 1894 shows the distribution of its 15,331 dependent children as follows: 1,975 in Hebrew institutions, 2,789 in Protestant, 10,567 in Roman Catholic institutions. This did not include the blind, deaf, feeble minded and delinquent children who are cared for in special institutions.

As opposed to its institutions, the State has, in several of its counties, adopted to some degree the more natural method of child saving, with marked results. Alarmed at the increasing expense of its juvenile institutions, Erie County in 1879 began to take measures for boarding out its dependent children, and through the mediumship of the newspapers the agent placed the needs of the county before the people. He also interested clergymen and editors in the project. Advertising cards with pictures of the children were sent out, and this vigorous canvass resulted in speedy applications for the children, who were sent to good country homes by the score. The agent always impressed upon the foster parents the fact that the child was still the ward of the county, which expected them to co-operate with it in training him to a life of usefulness. The chief opposition came from the institutions, which in many cases refused to let the children go. But the Board of Supervisors met this obstacle by reducing the *per capita* price of board, and by passing a resolution declaring that, if any child was refused to the county's agent, the Superintendent of the Poor would at once stop payment for his board. This opened the doors of the institutions, and Erie County, which in 1879 was paying $48,000 yearly for the support of its dependent children, had by 1892 decreased its expenses two-thirds, though the population had increased one-third. Monroe, Westchester and Orange Counties also placed out their children to some extent.

When the Revised Constitution went into effect there were 15,000 children, or more, in institutions in New York City, costing the city over a million and a half yearly. The institutions throughout the State received about two millions and a half yearly for the support of their charges. The Revised Constitution gave the State Board of Charities jurisdiction over all the charities in the State, whether public or private, and a law was enacted by the

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Legislature putting the placing out of children into the hands of this Board. Under this law, during the years 1896 and 1897, 1,500 children have already been placed in homes in the rural communities. The number of children in institutions has been further decreased by the action of the State Charities Aid Association in appointing examiners to investigate the status of the children already in institutions, or for whom application had been made. The official report of the examiners for 1896 and 1897 shows that, out of 26,561 investigations, 7,303 cases were disapproved, though the children in many cases had been in the institutions for years.

Boys of 12, 13, 15, 16 and 17 years of age were found, whose families were amply able to provide for them, but who had been supported by the State for periods ranging from six to nine years. One girl of 16 was found who had spent twelve years of her life in institutions, being left at the critical age without home ties or interests, and with an utter lack of training in ordinary domestic affairs. The monthly reports from the Comptroller's office show the pecuniary saving from the decrease of dependent children, while the moral gains through the return of these children to the normal ways of life is of course incalculable. Hitherto the State of New York has paid two-fifths of all the money spent in the United States for the care of dependent children, while child pauperism has increased three times as fast as the general population. With a population of one and three-quarter millions New York City has been supporting over 15,000 children in institutions, or one dependent child to every 117 of population. The number of dependent children in Philadelphia in 1894 was one to every 1,979 of its population. This difference arises from the fact that Philadelphia has ceased to be an institutionalized city, and boards or places out nearly all its dependent children, the Philadelphia Children's Aid Society being the agent employed. Nearly every County Poor Board also takes advantage of its aid to place its dependent children, as far as possible, in its care. During the thirteen years of its existence the Children's Aid Society has received about 6,004 children from the various almshouses, poor boards and courts, and placed them in homes in the country. It has the names of over 700 families whose respectability and fitness are vouched for, the Society's agents having visited and ascertained by personal investigation their status in the community. Most of these families are at a distance of at least a hundred miles from any large city, it

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being deemed best, in case of delinquent children especially, to bring them up amid strictly rural surroundings. The attitude of the Society towards its charges is that "its duty to the child is not one of mere support, but one of preparation for life," and that the sole question arising in the mind of the observer of city institution life should be, "is the precise thing which I am looking at the very best thing that can be provided, in order that the child may have the same reliance which makes the country boy, on the whole, the best wage earner that the city ever sees?"

The Society possesses thousands of records attesting the happiness and well being of its wards, and the unwritten records obtained through personal visits from its agents are more satisfactory still. The agent finds the little sickly two-year-old, whom she left a few months before hardly expecting to see it alive again, well nourished and radiant with returning vitality, surrounded by toys, dressed in clean clothing, the care and the pet of the whole family. One baby, left at the age of eleven months unable to hold up his head or sit alone, had been restored to perfect health. The foster mother here had expressed a preference for a "real smart baby," one that she could show off to her neighbors. But, as she bent over this tiny sufferer, his little, thin face made its undeniable appeal, and she said, as she cried over him, that "somebody would have to keep him, and she calculated she could do it as well as any one else." The agent carries away innumerable mental pictures of these little waifs who have found home and health in the beautiful hill country of Pennsylvania. She sees the children on the benches of the village school, or sharing the innocent pleasures of childhood in wood and meadow. She finds them in the barn or field with the foster father, picking up useful knowledge, learning ways of industry and honest living, and, above all, sharing the interest of the family as if he were to the manner born. Very often these boarded out children step into a place left vacant by death, and often they bring to a childless home the first knowledge of the privileges and blessings that come with children. The Society has innumerable photographs showing the children in their comfortable homes, studying in the cosy sitting rooms, playing games with the farmer's older boys, or with the farmer himself, and sharing in fact in all the simple and sweet scenes of family life.

A most careful method of supervision is enforced by the Society, not only through frequent visits of its agents, but through

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numerous reports made by the physicians, the school teachers and other reliable and interested persons. Question blanks are sent for these reports, which are filed and make a full record of the child's history while under the care of the Society. As far as possible, the children are boarded in families of the same religion as that of their parents. In order not to create a class distinction, the Society does not allow the boarded out children of a village or farming district ever to exceed two or three per cent. of the child population.

Massachusetts, with a population to the square mile exceeding that of New York, and in which the artificial conditions of living are practically the same, has no dependent children, technically speaking, in institutions supported by the State. Largely affected by the problem of immigration, and under the strain produced by great centres of population engaged in mill and factory work, and so removed from the more healthful influences of smaller village and country life, this State has yet so successfully solved the problem of juvenile pauperism that, out of a population of two and a half millions, it has only 2,852 wards to support. The State has a nursery at Roxbury, where destitute infants are cared for while requiring medical or surgical treatment, and where children boarded out are brought for treatment when necessary. The nursery is a temporary home only in the strictest sense of the word, boarding out being the end in view. There is also a temporary boarding place at Arlington, with a capacity for only twenty children, and a home for wayward boys, with a capacity for seventeen. The State has two Industrial Schools, the Lyman School for Boys, and the State Industrial School for Girls, which together cared for 391 boys and girls during the year 1896. There are also two Reform schools, having 397 children in charge. With these exceptions, the dependent children of Massachusetts are placed or boarded out.

In 1889, California paid $231,215 for the support of 36,000 children in asylums, while Michigan, with double the population of California, paid only $35,000 for the support of 230 children. In 1893, California, still working under the old system, paid $250,000 for the support of 40,000 children in institutions, while Minnesota, with a population about equal to California, supported only 169 dependent children in its State Public Schools, the remainder being placed or boarded out.

There are, in all, perhaps eight or nine states in the Union

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in which boarding out and placing out are carried on in greater or less degree, these systems affecting about three-tenths of the dependent children in the country. The remaining seven-tenths, numbering more than 70,000, are still in institutions.

The United States is an institutionalized land, and the Great Republic, which boasts of freedom and equality, still regards her dependent children as aliens, and brands them with the stigma of pauperism.

The evolutionist sees the earliest manifestation of altruism in that primary instinct, found even in the lowest forms of plant life, to protect the young in the seed and bud—the instinct of motherhood. Upon this eternal principle of life the problem of child saving must rest. There is no one so morally fit to rear an unfortunate child as the mother of a respectable family, whose experience with her own brood has taught her the needs and demands of childhood. Nowhere else is so abundantly manifested that trust in the "larger hope," as in the patience that waits upon motherhood. To this patience and this hope the State may well commit the welfare of its most unfortunate class. For, although the institution life of to-day is not accompanied by all the horrors that once disfigured it, yet sore eyes, diseased bodies and a high death rate still prevail. According to the official report of 1897 the death rate at the Infants' Asylum on Randall's Island was, for foundlings 80 per cent., for other children without their mothers 59 per cent., children with their mothers 13 per cent. Out of 366 children under six months of age, admitted without their mothers in 1896, only twelve lived, the remainder dying between five and six weeks after admission to the asylum. Institutionalism is an artificial system with the stigma of failure attaching to it, inasmuch as its presence always indicates an increase of the very evil it was originally meant to combat. Without admitting as truth the statement, made by some experts, that all institution bred children turn out either knaves or fools, sufficient testimony may be found to force home the startling argument that, of the 100,000 children cared for by the State to-day, there is grave danger that the seven-tenths who are in institutions will carry through life the brand of a system which has handicapped them in the race for success.

Mr. Homer Folks, Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association of New York, in speaking of child saving, says: "Would the

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directors of a bank be satisfied with knowing that most of its funds were not stolen? Would the working of the postal department be considered satisfactory if simply a majority of the letters deposited in the letter boxes were delivered? Would the community rest contented in the satisfaction that a large majority of its citizens were not unjustly thrown into prison? Would a father be satisfied to know that five of his six children were not actually suffering from hunger and cold?" And this is the principle upon which child savers must act. The institution may save the child up to a certain point. But we want him saved for all time. Only the abandonment of the costly institutions—the expensive buildings might with profit in New York City be turned into public schools—and an acceptance of the method which experience has so far shown to be the best, can solve the question of pauperism in the United States with success.

The boarding out system is another example of the truth of the adage that "mercy is twice blessed." The love and care of the foster parents are in large measure repaid by their charges, who yield them in old age that affectionate protection which is the privilege of children. When at service, they save their wages and deny themselves little luxuries, that they may help their foster parents. They come back to their former homes to be married; and, in case of a family, if either parent dies, the survivor brings the children to the foster mother to be cared for. Joy and sorrow are shared together, and when attacked by fatal sickness it is to the foster home that the child returns to die.

Nature, the wise teacher, has sealed her approval of forsterage by forging that mysterious tie which binds parent and child, which no absence may sunder, and which remains unbroken even in death. Boarding out has paid in every sense. Out of the class in which pauperism was hereditary—sometimes three or four generations of the same family being paupers—it has created a respectable working class, at a cost in dollars and cents far below the cost of institution life. Over the neglected and despised pauper child, it has extended the aegis of the State, making the least of these little ones understand that, though deprived of love and home by fate, he has still a motherland whose care will guard him lovingly, and whose honor must be his sacred ideal.

HENRIETTA CHRISTIAN WRIGHT.

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THE SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AFTER THE WAR.

BY S. C. CRONWRIGHT-SCHREINER.

One can decide properly what can justly be done after the war in South Africa only if one knows how the war was brought about. I hold annexation to be wholly unjustifiable. Let me state why I do so.

It is often said that the Transvaal burghers were solidly opposed to granting the franchise to the Uitlanders. That is false. In 1893, the late General Joubert and President Krüger contested the Presidency. The contest was fought on the question of the enfranchisement of the Uitlanders. Mr. Joubert stood for enfranchisement, which Mr. Krüger, like another Lord Salisbury, opposed; and the election was so close that a commission was appointed to re-count the votes, with the result that Mr. Krüger was declared elected by a narrow majority. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that, but for the Rhodes Plot against the Transvaal and its condonation by the British Government, Mr. Joubert would have romped in an easy winner at the next Presidential election in 1898, and the Uitlander question would have been peaceably settled.

But such a settlement would have left the Dutch in command of the Legislature, as indeed any reasonable settlement must still do; and that did not suit the Capitalists. Everybody now knows that the "grievances" of the Uitlanders in 1895 were simply a stalking horse for the ulterior aims of the Capitalists, with Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Beit at their head. While the inner ring of moneyed agitators, posing as the general Uitlander population,

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were appealing to Great Britain about not being enfranchised, while they were clamoring that they wanted a settlement, Dr. Rutherfoord Harris, Secretary of the Chartered Company, was cabling Mr. Rhodes that there was "great danger" of Lionel Phillips and Charles Leonard (the chairman of the agitators) effecting a settlement "without assistance from the British South Africa Company!"

Just when there was "great danger" of a settlement, the Raid occurred, followed by the gradual exposure of Mr. Rhodes's cowardly and disgraceful plot against the Transvaal, and Mr. Krüger's splendid magnanimity, which compelled the admiration of Mr. Chamberlain, and which extorts a similar note to-day from even so violent a partisan as Sir Sidney Shippard. This was followed by what was much worse. The condonation of the Raid by the British Cabinet convinced nearly every Dutchman and a great many others in South Africa that Mr. Chamberlain was equally implicated with Mr. Rhodes, and that a second "Raid," this time a "constitutional" one, would be made upon the country and the independence of the Transvaal.

Meantime, the Capitalists, determined to carry on the agitation, purchased nearly all the leading newspapers in South Africa,* got their own men appointed as correspondents in South Africa for powerful London dailies, and set about lying to the British public as they did before the Raid. The second agitation, carried on and financed largely by the same men as were responsible for the 1895 agitation, for the same purposes and by the same methods, was, at bottom, as false as that preceding the Raid. But again the inevitable result was to mislead the British public. The agitators were aided by Sir Alfred Milner, who misrepresented South African affairs with a persistence and to a degree surpassing belief, and by Mr. Chamberlain, whom the Dutch universally believe to be in Mr. Rhodes's power by reason of his implication in the plot against the Transvaal.

The result of the continued agitation was that President Krüger and Sir Alfred Milner met in conference at Bloemfontein in May, 1899.

Now, a word as to the status of the South African Republic.

In the 1881 Convention, the Transvaal is styled "The Trans-

*See "How the Press was Worked before the War," by J. A. Hobson, a penny pamphlet issued by the South African Conciliation Committee, Talbot House, Arundel street, Strand, London, W. C.

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vaal State," and "suzerainty" is specially retained, the word itself being used. In 1884, this Convention was done away with and a new one drawn up. In drafting the 1884 Convention, Lord Derby with his own hand eliminated the word "suzerainty" and all references to "suzerainty," at the express wish of the Transvaal delegates. In addition, the name of the State was changed from "The Transvaal State" to "The South African Republic," and the new republic thus created was specifically granted absolute independence in regard to its own internal affairs. Successive Secretaries of State have, from their place in Parliament, repudiated all right of interference in the internal affairs of the Republic; among them Mr. Chamberlain, who, in 1896, said that to go to war on such a pretext would be "immoral." Indeed, Mr. Chamberlain himself made the officially recognized status of the Republic quite clear when he, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, defined it in 1896 from his place in Parliament as "a Foreign State which is in friendly treaty relations with Her Majesty." No claim to suzerainty was made from 1884 until the Republic, during the recent negotiations, offered arbitration. This placed Mr. Chamberlain in an awkward position. Mainly through Great Britain, the Republic had been prevented from having a representative at The Hague Conference, and now Mr. Chamberlain did a thing which seems to throw a lurid light upon that action. He revived the claim to suzerainty, and, on the strength of this, refused arbitration! Sir Edward Clarke, the most eminent legal authority on the Conservative side, has expressed the opinion of all sound lawyers in saying that the revival of this claim was not only quite unjustifiable, but was "a breach of national faith."

The South African Republic is thus "a foreign state;" there is no suzerainty, and it has absolute control of its own internal affairs.

Notwithstanding this, "The Lion of Rustenburg," as his burghers style the grim old President, agreed to meet Sir Alfred Milner in a friendly conference. They met at Bloemfontein in May, 1899, Mr. Krüger carefully explaining that the conference was purely a friendly one, and that he recognized no right of interference.

Sir Alfred Milner demanded (1.) a five years' retrospective franchise; (2.) seven seats in the First Raad at once for the Gold

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Fields; (3.) one-fifth of the seats in the First Raad as a minimum representation of the Gold Fields for the future.

These demands were unanimously approved of at a public meeting of Uitlanders in Johannesburg, specially convened for the purpose.

Earl Grey, whom I quote because he is now a justifier of the war, wrote as follows in the January number of this REVIEW:

"The demands presented by Sir Alfred Milner, as a minimum of what he would recommend the Uitlanders to receive, were regarded by the common consent of the civilized world as most reasonable and just."

In July, 1899, after various concessions, the Republic passed and embodied in its constitution a seven years' retrospective naturalization and franchise law, which is the law of the land to-day and is actually more liberal and less hedged about with restrictions than the present law of Great Britain. This did not satisfy Mr. Chamberlain, who demanded that a Joint Commission should be appointed to inquire into the law. He, of course, had no right whatever to do this. But, anxious to have the matter settled peaceably, the Republic inquired whether another offer, if made, would be considered on its merits, without prejudice to the seven years' offer, and whether, if such new offer were rejected, the seven years' offer might be reverted to as a basis of negotiations. An affirmative reply was given to both of these inquiries; whereupon on the 19th of August, the Republic offered (1.) a five years' retrospective franchise; (2.) *eight* seats in the First Raad at once for the Gold Fields; (3.) *one-fourth* of the seats in the First Raad as a minimum representation of the Gold Fields for the future.

Coupled with this generous offer (which, knowing intimately the men who made it, I am quite satisfied was made in perfect good faith), the Republic made three stipulations, all of which it had a perfect right to make: (1.) That this should not be taken as a precedent for future interference in its internal affairs; (2.) that the suzerainty should not be further insisted upon; (3.) that other points in dispute should be submitted to arbitration.*

These concessions, it will be noted, actually went beyond Sir Alfred Milner's Bloemfontein demands.

To the amazement of the Republic, this liberal offer was rejected

*It must, of course, be borne in mind that the Republic was prepared all along to submit the whole question between itself and Great Britain to arbitration. I have explained above how Mr. Chamberlain refused arbitration.

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on the 28th of August. But worse was to follow; for when, as had been arranged, the Republic reverted to the seven years' offer and acceded to Mr. Chamberlain's demand for a Joint Commission, Mr. Chamberlain, having got all he had required and more than Sir Alfred Milner demanded, actually rejected on the 8th of September the seven years' offer also. This, of course, convinced the Dutch, and many who are not Dutch, that a settlement was not desired by Great Britain, except at the sacrifice of the Independence of the Republic.

Having rejected the generous concessions of the Republic, whose conduct throughout shows a strong desire for peace, Mr. Chamberlain in a dispatch of the 22nd of September said that the British Government would now formulate their own demands. This, of course, was a violation of the Convention of 1884, and an act of war if the Republic chose to interpret it as such. But the Republic still hoped for peace.

Great Britain, however, did not formulate her demands at once, as she should have done. On the contrary, she sent out reinforcements to the troops which for weeks had been increasing in South Africa. As days passed and the expected demands remained unformulated, President Steyn, on the 27th of September, sent a message to Sir Alfred Milner offering mediation. On the 30th of September, the South African Republic itself urgently requested that the proposals should be submitted, that it might have an opportunity of considering them. Again, on the 3rd and 4th of October, Mr. Steyn renewed his proposal. The answer was the calling out of the reserves and the announcement of the despatch of an Army Corps to South Africa. This was on the 7th of October. Two days later, the South African Republic sent its ultimatum, in which, be it remembered, it adhered to the Convention of 1884 and offered arbitration on all questions. On the 11th of October the ultimatum expired, and a state of war existed. Then and only then was British territory invaded. The ultimatum was purely strategic. The Republics were absolutely convinced that Mr. Chamberlain meant war, and, strategetically, it was of the most vital importance that they should make the first move. The real act of war was Great Britain's violation of the Convention of 1884, her despatch of troops to South Africa and the calling out of an Army Corps thereupon.

One more incident, which occurred after the outbreak of the

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war, must be related to put the finishing touch upon this repulsive tale. On October the 19th and 25th, debates on the war took place in the House of Commons, and on each occasion Mr. Chamberlain was questioned as to the despatch which rejected the Republic's five years' offer. In reply to Sir Edward Clarke and Mr. Leonard Courtney, he said he had intended that despatch to be an acceptance of the offer of the Republic as to nine-tenths of its substance, the remaining one-tenth being only a matter of form and not worth a war. Yet, when the Republic and everybody else interpreted his reply as a rejection, he had made no attempt to put them right!

Now that the war is in progress, the reasons given to justify it before it began have been tacitly abandoned. It is not seriously urged now that the war is about the franchise. *Ex post facto* arguments are urged to justify both the war and the annexation of the territory of the two Republics. The argument almost exclusively relied upon now is that there was a "Pan-Afrikander Conspiracy," which included the Dutch of Cape Colony, to "drive the English out of South Africa." Sir Sidney Shippard, in the last number of this REVIEW, actually uses these ridiculous words. Personally, I know of no evidence to support this allegation of a "conspiracy." I say at once, from my knowledge of Cape Colony and the South African Republic, of both Dutch and English, rural and urban, sections, that there is no truth in it whatsoever. I say, on the contrary, that if the burghers of the Transvaal, without provocation, had invaded the Cape Colony, they would have been met and opposed, gun in hand, by the Dutch of the Colony. If personal testimony be not sufficient, the following facts quite dispose of the "conspiracy" allegation.

1. During the period which this "conspiracy" is supposed to cover, Mr. F. W. Reitz, then Chief Justice of the Orange Free State, now State Secretary of the South African Republic, when offered the Presidency of the Free State, in turn offered it to Sir George Grey, the greatest of England's Pro-Consuls.

2. Sir Gordon Sprigg has been Premier of the Afrikander Bond Party during the same period, and Mr. Rhodes was its most trusted Premier up to the end of 1895.

3. In 1895, before the Raid, the Cape Colony and the Free State were prepared to support Great Britain in war against the South African Republic.

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4. In 1896, the Raads of the two Republics passed resolutions asking Great Britain to abrogate the Charter and govern Rhodesia under direct Imperial control, while the Bond in the Cape Colony passed a contrary resolution.

5. During the Matabele war, after the Raid, Mr. Krüger offered to send his burghers to help to quell the rising in Rhodesia.

6. In 1897, there was a spontaneous and enthusiastic outburst of enthusiasm among the Dutch throughout the Cape Colony on the occasion of the Queen's Jubilee.

7. In 1898, the present "Bond" ministry of Cape Colony brought in and carried unanimously a vote of £30,000 a year for the British fleet, and handed over Simon's Town, the most important fortified naval station in the Southern hemisphere, to the Imperial authorities, the Dutch in Cape Colony outnumbering the non-Dutch in the proportion of about three to two.

8. Before the outbreak of the war, over two hundred meetings, representing the whole Dutch population of Cape Colony, were held in favor of peace. A petition to the same effect was signed by the Afrikander women and sent to the Queen.

9. The Cape Colony Dutch did not rise on the ultimatum and have not yet risen, although their doing so would have more than doubled the forces against us and placed the whole of South Africa, with the exception of three or four towns, in the hands of the Dutch. It is calculated that the Cape Dutch could have added 70,000 to 80,000 fighting men to the 50,000 of the two Republics, all good horsemen and good shots. It is in fact the much maligned Dutch of the Colony that have saved South Africa for the Empire.

10. The "Bond" Ministry of Cape Colony remains to-day in office, representing Dutch opinion. It has called out all the Colonial Volunteer and police forces and handed them over absolutely to the Imperial authorities, together with our railways, telegraphs, etc.—all of which the Dutch have been taxed to form and build and are to-day being taxed to maintain.

To speak of a Pan-Afrikander conspiracy in the face of such facts is simply nonsense.

I hold it to be clearly established that the reasons given for the war, both before and after its beginning, are quite insufficient to justify it. It is, indeed, stupid to urge that the war is for a franchise, when the franchise law of the Republic is more liberal

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than that of Great Britain. It is equally stupid to urge a Pan-Afrikander conspiracy in face of the facts here adduced. This being the case and no other reasons being forthcoming that can stand examination, Great Britain is waging an unjust war. Her attitude is dishonorable and cowardly throughout. War has been forced on the Republics. They did not want war: the great efforts made by the Free State to induce the Transvaal to give concessions, and the concessions given by the Transvaal, prove this. It is absurd to suppose that a handful of farmers should seek war with the greatest Empire in the world. There was one thing, however, they would not surrender without a fight—their dearly loved independence. Having given even more than they could have been expected to give, and seeing then that Great Britain meant to take their independence from them, they said, like men, that they would not surrender their independence without fighting for it.

I have not time in this article to go into the causes that produced the war. I hold it can be proved to be a war brought about by capitalist influence. Indeed, Mr. Hobson's book, *The War in South Africa,* proves this pretty conclusively. I wish now to draw attention to the fact that Lord Salisbury, Mr. Chamberlain, the Duke of Devonshire, and many other leading British statesmen, as well as Sir Alfred Milner, repeatedly and explicitly stated that Great Britain had no designs upon the territory of the Republics and no desire or intention of depriving them of their independence. They said they were going to war simply to secure an equitable franchise, which would enable the Uitlanders to become enfranchised and work out their own salvation. Yet when the war is once in progress, what do we find? Mr. Chamberlain has made an official declaration that the Republics are to be annexed, and to be governed either by a military council or as Crown Colonies! All along, a great many people, including all the Dutch of South Africa, have said that the declared intentions of Great Britain were false, and that what she really wanted was to destroy the South African Republic and steal its territory, which included the largest and richest gold deposit in the world. Her intentions, as declared by Mr. Chamberlain to-day, go far to prove the truth of the accusation. She stole the Kimberley diamond mines in the most barefaced manner from the Orange Free State; now, after killing its citizens, she is going to steal the gold mines

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of the Transvaal. Having set out professedly to put an end to an "oligarchy," she is going to institute an autocracy; having set out to enfranchise people, she is going to disfranchise everybody; having set out to make a true republic of the Transvaal, she is going to govern it and the Free State by a military despotism; having set out to spread freedom, she is going to curtail it. Great Britain stands before the world, dishonored and unashamed!

Morally, she has no right whatever to "annex." But the moral principle is scornfully flouted by Sir Sidney Shippard, as by so many other "Imperialists." In the "higher politics," he says, "enlightened selfishness is and must be the only true guide."

Well, I will discuss the question on the low ground which these "Imperialists" understand, and show that, in this case, even on the purely material side, the "selfishness" which departs from the moral principle will not be an "enlightened selfishness."

In the whole of South Africa south of the Zambesi, there are about 800,000 whites, of whom about 440,000 are Dutch, 270,000 British, and 90,000 non-Dutch and non-British. So that, throughout South Africa, the Dutch outnumber the British by 170,000. This numerical superiority is certain to be increased, for the Dutch are the stable population; they are on the land throughout the whole area; they cannot be displaced and they are remarkably prolific. On the other hand, the population of the mining centres, although it may obtain a temporary accession, must eventually decrease. For instance, as the mining and commercial interests of Witwatersrand fall into the hands of or become dominated by the amalgamated or associated great Mining Companies, as wages are reduced, black labor substituted for white, and the compound system introduced, the population of Johannesburg will inevitably decrease, just as that of Kimberley and Beaconsfield fell nearly forty per cent. within only a few years after the amalgamation of the mines and the introduction of the compound system under the De Beers Company. The numerical superiority is, indeed, actually larger to-day than the figures given indicate, for there has been considerable intermarriage between "Afrikanders" (Dutch and British South Africans), and, almost without exception, all people with any Dutch blood are on the Dutch side, which, in addition, is further strengthened by many non-Dutch who sympathize with the Dutch as brother South Africans, and love South Africa as they do.

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Now, the whole of the Dutch population throughout South Africa, besides many others, regard the war as having been forced on the Republics by capitalist intrigue, and as most cruel and unjust; they do not blame the British nation primarily, who they still say are a just people that have been misinformed and misled into a great crime—a crime that they would never have permitted had they known the truth. They feel thoroughly outraged and hold with the utmost intensity that there is no justification whatever for "annexing" the Republics, especially after their heroic fight. This feeling is held with equal intensity by the Dutch of the Cape Colony, who, though British subjects born under the British flag, have been overridden, insulted and outraged under martial law in a manner passing belief, simply because they are of Dutch descent.

Now, if Great Britain annexes the Republics, what will the result be? I am firmly convinced that the result will inevitably be that, at no very distant future, she will permanently lose South Africa. She will weld the Dutch (who, as I have shown above, were split in 1895) into one solid people. This in itself is a desirable end. But she will, by her wicked and fatuous policy, make that solid people, the South African majority, hostile to her. She will permanently alienate South African sentiment. The Dutch are the bulk of the young South African Nation: they will not only increase rapidly and more and more dominate the country, but they will gradually be joined by ever increasing numbers of British South Africans, who share with them a profound love for South Africa as their mother country, who hold that South Africa must be left severely alone to manage her own internal affairs, and who resent this criminal war as hotly as the Dutch themselves do. The crimes and wrongs perpetrated in South Africa to-day are perpetrated against the South African People, as more of us will from time to time recognize. Great Britain is running her foolish head full tilt against the young South African Nation. If she persists in her mad policy, she will make that people hostile; and this will inevitably lose her South Africa. It is a most unstatesmanlike policy to alienate the affections of the South African people. It has taken some 240,000 of Great Britain's picked troops, many weary months, and some £200,000,000* to subdue the 50,000 warrior peasants of the Republics. If she pursues a policy which alienates her own

*The estimated cost to the conclusion of the war.

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subjects, the next time South Africa takes the field it will be with at least 130,000 men, for the Cape Dutch can put from 70,000 to 80,000 in the field, every one of whom is a good rider and a good shot, and there will be others besides Dutchmen. In that case, Great Britain would need some 400,000 men to subdue the country and some years to do it in, if, indeed, she could do it at all. If such a rising occurred while Great Britain was engaged in a life and death struggle, say with Russia, she could not spare the men; she would lose South Africa.

What, then, is she to do? The answer is, *She must not annex.* She must stand honorably to her declared intention that "she sought no gold fields, she wanted no territory," but only an equitable franchise. If she stands honorably to this, she will nullify the accusation that she only wanted "to paint the map red."

Putting aside the native question for the moment, as too large and important to be cursorily treated of now, she might, I think, do three things:

(1.) Take complete control of the external relations of the Republics;

(2.) Fix a clear five years' retrospective franchise for both States, and place the Dutch and English languages on an equality;

(3.) Insist upon disarmament as to big guns and forts. Rifles should not be touched, and sufficient cannon (of size and number to be fixed) should be allowed to quell the native risings.

Having done this, and having placed a British resident at each capital, she should leave the country alone. South Africans are quite capable of managing their own affairs. It is Great Britain's fatuous interference from time to time that has caused nearly all their troubles. South Africa will become a nation. Its attitude to Great Britain will depend upon how Great Britain treats it now and in the near future. Her policy should be to regain the strained and lost affections of South Africans. That can only be done by leaving South Africa internally free and doing the just thing now. If Great Britain goes back on her pledged imperial word and annexes the Republics, she will lose South Africa. An "enlightened selfishness" will be found to lie in the direction of an honorable fulfilment of moral obligations, not in that disregard of ethical principles advocated by Sir Sidney Shippard.

S. C. CRONWRIGHT-SCHREINER.

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THE ULTIMATE TRIUMPH OF THE BOERS.

BY PROFESSOR CESARE LOMBROSO.

I.

SINCE the beginning of the South African war, I have held, contrary to the opinion of most people, that the Boers would conquer the English, or at least maintain resistance for a long time. They would be able to do this, it seemed to me, because of their great territorial extension (considering as belligerents their sympathizers in the Cape), the great distance of the base of their adversaries from the centre of action, and the rapidity of their movements, habituated as they are to living on horseback. Their acclimatization in a country injurious to Europeans turns their small armies, in effectiveness, into hosts. Each of them, animated by a passion for his country and capable of the utmost freedom of movement, is a unit of greater value than the English military automaton, and, being the best marksmen in the world, they are able to despoil a hostile regiment of its officers in a very short time. They fight for a just cause, which has roused the sympathy of all the world.

Immense damage accrued to the English from the contempt of their military caste for volunteers. They were at first taken by surprise, while the Boers had been for a long time prepared with the best of arms and modern war machines. The Boers confined themselves for the most part to defensive war, behind river banks formed into improvised forts, which, in warfare with smokeless powder, rendered assaults very difficult for the enemy. The English have been accustomed to fight with barbarous people, and they judged the new enemy to be of that class; while the Boers are a people thrice strengthened by the persecutions and emigrations of their ancestors, so that only the most active and the strongest have survived. Add to all these things that a small

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army is always more homogeneous and better proportioned than a large one, and, above all, that the Boers have a government suited to their nature and free—a circumstance which has always redoubled the resistance of nations to strangers—and we have in them a national miracle such as Greece, Florence, Venice, the United States of America and free Holland have accustomed us to see.

But, at this point, the liberals say: "Since England has been the greatest cradle of human liberty, its defeat must mean a defeat for the cause of freedom." It is, however, on the one hand, an exaggeration to think that a defeat at one point in Africa would impair the great English system. On the other hand, the liberals should remember that England, in that event, would be punished for having failed to maintain the very principles of liberty and of national independence which she represents—for having unfurled the flag of imperialism, which is decidedly antagonistic to liberty, over a free people, who asked nothing of them but to be left alone.

But others say: "Remember that the Boers are a peasant people, and therefore ultra-conservative and reactionary, among whom the patriarchal régime is still vigorous." Modern economists, who classify a people according to their industrial activity and their liberty of conscience and political freedom, ask: "What liberty can be expected from a people among whom the *paterfamilias* still rules, and protectionism is exaggerated to impoverish strangers; among whom the right of voting and the management of the State are in the hands of a few families, the press and industry are almost unknown; from a people, in short, of simple farmers and shepherds, representing only the second stage of civilization, almost barbarians?" Between those who will always be a centre of reaction and free England, the cradle of liberty, who would not choose the latter?

I do not deny that, for us modern liberals and independent thinkers, this small people of almost bigoted country-folk seem antipathetic, behind the times and certainly unæsthetic. But if we study this question through the glass of history, we are obliged to form another judgment.

II.

He who studies the history of the Italian commonwealths, as it is revealed in the most recent documents, learns that the great

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commonwealths, certainly Venice, Florence, Siena, Lucca, were composed of pure and simple countrymen, some having escaped the incursions of the barbarians, others the cruelty of the castellains. Yet these gave us the greatest illumination, the most useful examples of liberty and of energy; moreover, not many centuries after their rise, they dowered us with those marvels of art and poetry never as yet surpassed—Dante's poems, the Ducal Palace, Donatello's doors, the Cathedrals of St. Mark and of Siena.

These countrymen met in small groups—*vicinies,* and when the *vicinie* had grown somewhat greater, they built up a small church, formed a camp, the nucleus of their slight political existence; then many analogous groups meeting, there rose the Commonwealth, which surrounded itself with a common ditch, within which the fields were enjoyed in common. They lived thus for several centuries. Later, there appeared among these urbanized countrymen as many woodworkers and ironsmiths as were sufficient for the needs of the community, and they formed a guild of artisans. Finally, here and there, escaping from rivals, some feudatory personage asked to be received as a guest, laying down his arms and only taking them up again to instruct his new fellow-citizens, who, unfortunately, required to learn the art of war, for they were tormented by rival communities and by feudatories, who robbed on the highways the merchant who came to barter, and the countryman who tried to export his fruits; also by the terrible German invaders. So, little by little, by the necessity of defense, they took on warlike habits, changing to warriors from the agricultural and commercial folk they had been, and consequently losing in freedom what they gained in power. In point of fact, the origin of Venice was slightly different, but more in appearance than otherwise. In Venice the first inhabitants were not countrymen, but fishermen and collectors of salt or coast sailors. They did not form their commonwealth in feudal times, but somewhat earlier, in the times of barbarian invasions. They were not altogether simple countrymen in origin, but some of them were artisans and even great lords. All, however, even the politicians and the wealthy, became workmen or fishermen; and they began to populate some small islets, which represented their possessions on *terra firma,* and at first all their world. These islets, little by little, were united by bridges, and formed the

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commonwealth. Here also fishermen rose to be coast sailors, and later merchants on the rivers, and then on the open sea; in spite of their simple and pacific habits, they defended themselves with fervent, patriotic energy against Goths, Lombards, Huns, Franks, and from defense passed to conquest, and from conquest to the habit of war, which caused their degeneration. Yet these poor fishermen were the ancestors of Mocenigo and Titian.

III.

But the United States of America has still better proved that pastoral origin is not harmful, but rather helpful to the development of thought and art. As in Florence and among the Boers, the origin of the American people was humble enough; they came from adventurers and warriors, almost all exiles from their fatherland, like the Boers, because of political and religious persecution. They all, although in origin to a certain extent cultured and fond of art, or at least of industry, ended by returning for some time to a semi-barbarous state. The first phenomenon after their entrance into a free country was their return to labor in common, a condition which belongs to barbarous epochs. The first colonists of America cultivated in common the land in the neighborhood of their villages, as the Florentines had done. At Henrico, in Virginia, the products were placed in common in public storehouses, from which each one could help himself to necessaries, while the land was worked in common; only in 1613 three acres of land were given to each laborer, who was, however, obliged to work eleven months for the community and the company. At Plymouth there was formed an association of labor and ownership among the colonists, who were to divide every seven years the gains from commerce and industry. The colonists, as soon as they landed, were divided into sections, according to the various types of cultivation. In Virginia, for instance, Lord Delaware assigned to each colonist a house, and to the French vineland, to the English woodland; other land was divided in portions of 50 to 100 acres to each colonist. Later, this communistic society was succeeded by a patriarchal organization, such as now exists among the Boers; but in every case the original civilization was for a time eclipsed. Then, too, the legislation of the fatherland proved inadequate, and for it was substituted what had in it much that was characteristic of primitive peoples. And so it was

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with industry. The laborers refused to be industrial, because the unoccupied land, with its enormous fertility, returned a maximum of products, almost without need of capital, so that in some provinces grain was raised for 26 years without fertilizing the land. In 1731, the wheat, rice and maize in South Carolina produced an hundred times the sowings; also in the vast fertile lands of the Northwest the colonists gathered crops of flax, oats and potatoes from the very first year. But this success had its weak side. It produced contempt for industrial labor. "For a long time," writes Brougham, "those who came to find employment or introduce an industry ended by becoming agriculturalists." So an immigrant glassmaker, with a large capital and many workmen, found himself abandoned on the first day because everybody turned himself into a farmer. While in England and in Germany the development of machinery was enormous, in America the plough was still crude, and in many regions not to be found at all. In Virginia the sheep were sheared to make them cool, and not for the wool. Women wove and spun in the seventeenth century as they did in Europe in the thirteenth. Wool was carded by hand, and cloths, woven on colonial looms, were sent to England to be finished. Pennsylvania brought from England clothing and domestic utensils even after 1700.

Only when the most fertile soil was fully occupied, did the colonists try to augment its productiveness by fertilizers and machinery and by capital.

In the earliest times, town meetings were completely wanting. In Virginia, which was the happiest country, Bancroft tells us that every emigrant tried to get as much land as he could cultivate and to keep far away from his fellows. Even means of communication were lacking. The English vessels intending to export goods had to collect their cargoes, little by little, at separate plantations scattered along the rivers; and in vain England ordered the formation of cities for the gathering of products. In the *Annals of Virginia*, in 1705, Beverley reproaches the inhabitants of that country for their indolence and savagery, their want of civilized life. Culture, too, was very slight. They had a few books, which told the story of their persecutions, and, above all, the Bible. And the Scotch, who in every feudal castle of their own country had had a bard to sing their glories, appeared in Carolina quite destitute of even that form of culture.

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IV.

But as a field long abandoned gives a tenfold harvest, so in the United States the civilization which had slept under the spell of free land not only awoke, as soon as the country was fully occupied, but grew more rapidly than in all the other countries of the world. And that land, where only a few boats had been built, and these not always seaworthy, made the greatest vessels in the world; where they had scarcely succeeded in carding wool were to be found the mechanical triumphs of textile fabrics, which were exported to the most distant points of the globe; and, where once the Bible had been almost the whole library, rose the greatest universities and the grandest libraries that honor science.

The cause of freedom had there also the maximum of its triumph. George writes: "It was the free land which converted the timid European laborer into the courageous farmer of the Far West, and infused into those who were not cultivators the sense of liberty. Europeans find the best places occupied and grow discouraged; but Americans, who see the land spreading wide in all directions, acquire independence, spontaneity and ardor of character."

V.

The same thing must happen among the Boers. They have reached the patriarchal stage, after having passed through that of free land. I will admit that they have the appearance of being barbarous, but no more than had the Virginians of 1700 and the Florentines of 1100. It is not the irremediable barbarism of the negro or of the Bedouin, but a pseudo-barbarism, which, depending on agrarian conditions, will cease wholly when they have changed even slightly, giving place to such a rapid development of civilization as occurred in Florence and North America. On the other hand, it is a semi-barbarism which follows closely upon a great civilization like that of Holland, and is prolific of culture and freedom, because infused in every part with liberty. The Calvinistic religion is strictly observed among the Boers, but with a primitive fervor. It was a religious passion of this sort that created St. Mark's, and Giotto's tower, and the cathedrals of Como, of Milan, of Pavia, and led the soldiers of Cromwell to victory marching to the psalms of David.

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The Boers imposed heavy burdens on strangers, it is true; but it is also true that strangers have been allowed to enjoy their enormous wealth, and that if the taxes are exorbitant, wages are high, as much as five dollars a day being paid to a workman in Johannesburg. It is not true that the Boers are simple peasantry. They are countrymen, sheep-raisers and cultivators at large, like many in Australia; true farmers, who yet have time for gymnastic exercise and enough for common culture. This is so true that, in the art of war, they have reached a point where they are able to surpass their former masters; and in that art it is impossible to get, offhand, special skill in tactics and ballistics without large and solid training, even in mathematics. At Blackfontein there are educational institutions superior to those at the Cape. The Transvaal is a country whose population might be put into a borough of London, and they spend 350 thousand dollars yearly for education. They are still slave-holders, it is true; but so always are peoples who have come out from the cultivation of free land and have need of a tremendous number of hands; but the religious passion which animates them forbids the maltreatment of slaves, and the law forbids their intoxication.

VI.

I cannot deny that there has been an ultra-conservative tendency in the originator of the policy of the Transvaal, that is, Krüger. When, in a generous moment, Cecil Rhodes thought of forming the United States of Africa, it was Krüger who opposed it, partly through distrust of the English origin of the proposer, partly because the old Transvaaler, who had borne so much for the new state, and cared so much for it, was not willing to see it lost in the grand body of Afrikanders. It is evident that, in spite of its mines and its new wealth, if the Transvaal, so little industrial might have had the leadership in war, it would have ended, because of the conditions of its civilization, its want of seacoast and its topographical eccentricity, by ranking second or third to the great centre of the Cape. And, indeed, *particularism* is the first sentiment which superimposes itself on *patriotism*.

In any case, whether the war is won or lost, it is certain from the very nature of things that a United States of Africa will be formed, because what the Boers may fail to conquer now will be

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brought about by hate, inspired by the blood of the victims and by the persecution which the victors are certain to practice.

I am aware that England, in itself, in its statutes and history, has been the greatest example of civilization and liberty; but I cannot concede that it has given those boons to others, especially in recent times. They gave to the oppressed Armenians and Greeks only the succor of words; while, on the other hand, their imperialism, obliging Malta to speak English, cultivating in Canada priest-made ignorance, allowing India to remain frightfully impoverished, proves to be Roman in its enormous egoism and arbitrary exercise of power.

If England returns to the traditions of Gladstone, the fosterer of liberty, not only at home, but also among other peoples, and sees that her supremacy stands in the immense development of her industries and the prosperity with which her colonies surround her without need of bonds and military oppression, we shall bless her always as a great country.

But if, like Venice in later times, she apostatizes from her past, becoming a military power, and strangles with armed hand a generous people, what difference can we find between her and other imperialistic nations, such as Russia, which crushes the faithful Finland, after having promised freedom for so many years, and obliges Poland to speak a language not its own?

Let another free state rise in Africa, as one has risen in North America, with similar aims, a similar mixture of races, a similar origin of people persecuted and proved by secular struggle, with traditions most adverse to militarism, and most favorable to liberty; this is what we hope for in the world's future.

VII.

Thus much of this paper had been written when the defeats of the Boers began: but I do not think of changing it. I maintain unshaken my belief in the power of freedom to bring to victory men selected, as were the Boers, against forces fortyfold their number.

Even if England won, with the persistence of a year or two of war, I should not change my conclusions; because, on the one hand, the humble Boers have become the greatest heroes of the century, and are becoming the greatest martyrs to liberty. As a

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gentle Afrikander sings: "With every Boer you kill, you break a link in that fair chain which binds the Afrikanders to England." On the other hand, unless they kill off all the Boers, one by one, the fruitfulness of a people of free land will make good the deficit within fifteen years: there will be born a second and a third generation, which will bring about victory for the Boers, better adapted than the English, as they are, to that climate, and perfected by the recent persecution and selection. All other Afrikanders will find new reasons for uniting with them in rebellion, because they will have a noble historical tradition, which will bind them together, and a much greater political and economical cause for rebelling than now exists. Indeed, in order to keep the land in subjection, England would have to maintain a garrison of at least forty to fifty thousand men, to augment tremendously the taxes to accomplish this end, and to destroy all civil and political liberty, so dear to the Boers, in order to crush all the righteous rebellions which might arise. So that, if the Afrikanders hesitated before, they will not hesitate later to form with the Boer warriors a single body of rebels, compact against the English Government, and making the world marvel because of its virtues; since they have, like the United States of America, all the conditions for the growth of a great civilization, diversity of climate and of cultivation, and, above all, the mixture of superior races.

The celebrated Dutch author, Kuiper, calculates that, besides seventy-three per cent. of Dutch blood, there is twelve per cent. of French, twelve per cent. of English, three per cent. of Scotch, and hardly any negro blood in the veins of the Boers. This mixture of four of the best nations of Europe, in a climate not enervating, with energetic habits, promises the formation in this people, from old and new results, of a race loving liberty and culture, which will probably be superior to all the races of Europe: because, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, the mixture of the best peoples under conditions of liberty, in a nascent State, is the best producer of civilization. Of this we even already see the earnest in their form of government, in their constitutions, which, if not written in judicial style or with rhetorical art, are the best adapted to make their people happy; in that gentleness which they use toward defeated enemies, from whom there is so often no like return; in the rapidity of the strategic conceptions of their commanders, and in the great mobility of their soldiers.

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Up to this time, the only arts in which they have had exercise have been those of war and of state: and in these they have given really stupendous proofs of their ability.

As to England, not to the dear and saintly England of Gladstone and Spencer, but to the corrupt England of Chamberlain and Rhodes, this evil enterprise in Africa will, even if successful, be fatal to her, because it strengthens the power and prestige of the most reactionary party, the imperialistic. Dragged down this grade, she will prefer to industrial activity, and to the increase of naval construction, the barbaric shield of arms, and she will contract, as happened to Venice, the despotic habits which are associated with this tendency. She will prefer victories on sea and land to those of commerce and free trade; she will kneel to victorious generals, who will disturb more or less the constitutional norms. This they have already done in some measure by proposing conscription; and this they will extend by force to the colonies, which are, particularly Australia, more anti-militaristic than the mother country; thus making attempts on that independence which is the chief link of the colonies to the mother country. The English have already spent 400 million dollars for this war, and they will spend as much more in maintaining an armed superiority. Such a policy will enormously disturb the equilibrium of the state, and oblige it, as such action did Venice, to increase taxes in every direction, which, when the war excitement has passed, will remain, always becoming more odious and provoking struggles with the discontented popular element. In consequence, there would be new necessity for military influence and new need of increasing autocratic power.

In the United States imperialism is a mere passing caprice, which will vanish shortly, because the popular parties have enough energy to show its evils. In Germany and France the imperialist mania finds immense obstacles in the socialistic parties. But against the imperialistic delirium of the English there is no popular party strong enough to prevail. Imperialism may give a great fictitious strength to England, but in reality it will destroy the English system. While we shall see the sun of liberty rise on the United States of South Africa, as it did on the United States of America, the sun of English liberty will set.

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